AN ENQUIRY

CONCERNING

PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD

BY THE

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CONCERNING PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

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PART I.

The View of the Early Church.

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Prayers for the Dead. By Richard Frederick Littledale, LL.D. D.C.L. Palmer, London.

Notitia Eucharistica. By the Rev. W. E. Scudamore, M.A. 1872.

Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles. By A. P. Forbes, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

In writing concerning Prayers for the Dead, it will be well at the outset to point out and to endeavour to clear up certain misapprehensions and misstatements by which, whether intentionally or not, the subject has been clouded and mystified. A great element of confusion has been imported into the question in this manner: Because it is on all hands acknowledged that in the early ages of Christianity prayers of some sort were used for those departed this life, the conclusion has frequently been jumped to that all the further doctrines and practices which subsequently were developed from such Prayers have equally the support of primitive antiquity. It has been repeatedly and conclusively[1] shown that the earlier simple forms of prayer for the dead do not necessarily involve the later corruptions; nay, that the mention in those prayers of Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and even of the Virgin Mary herself, marks the sharp contrast between the primitive belief, and the subsequent development. Nevertheless although it would be easy to maintain in theory that Prayers for the Dead are separable and distinct from the invention of Purgatory, in practice

[1] Usher's *Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge*, chap. VII. p. 168.

and as a matter of fact it has been so often found that those who lay great stress on the practice of praying for the dead write also in defence of purgatory, that a belief in purgatorial pains and penalties has come to be regarded as the normal outcome of the doctrine that the prayers of the living benefit the dead. Modern controversialists do certainly give much colour to this supposition: and various modifications of the notion of purgatory have been suggested, as if thereby the doctrine might be rendered more acceptable. We shall restrict our argument to prayers for the dead: well aware nevertheless how closely the two questions do approximate to each other, and how constantly they have become mixed up inextricably one with the other.

Again, with strange confusion of thought it has been assumed that all prayers for the dead are of identically the same import; that every sigh which escapes the mourner, every aspiration that is breathed forth on the recollection of friends deceased, is in the same sense and as much a prayer for the dead, as a definite intercession for the remission of the penalties of sin; so that, pushing this confusion to its utmost limits, at last the petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy kingdom come," has been pressed as an argument for the *general* practice of praying for the dead. Of course, *in a certain sense*, as pleading for a shortening of the period of waiting, to ask that the final manifestation of God's kingdom should be hastened may be called a prayer for the benefit of the faithful departed:—but it is a marvellous medley of ideas

to put forward this as affording any countenance to the practice of praying for the dead in the developed and altered form to which the custom even in early times had grown.

There are then Prayers for the Dead and Prayers for the Dead: and when, divesting the subject of vague generalities, we come to look more closely into details, we shall find that sundry questions open upon us, concerning the nature of these prayers, the objects sought to be attained by them, and the persons on whose behalf they should be offered.

These several points will become more clear, if we state at length the several suppositions which would seem to exhaust the various opinions which have been held concerning the efficacy of Prayer for the Dead.

1. It is possible to conceive that the state of the soul may be altered[1] after death: i. e. that a soul which

[1] This view is generally repudiated: consequently, it is mentioned here only as a possible hypothesis: but is it not an opinion actually adopted by the superstitious and ignorant? and is it not one which the arguments used in favour of the *general* practice must logically lead up to? When Dr Lee (p. 185) urges that we should make intercession for the departed on the following grounds:—

"The dead need our prayers, because their eventual final state is "not yet settled,"—what inference can be drawn, but that such prayers might help to sway the settlement of the undetermined? When in another place (p. 91) he says, "The prayers of the living were not held to avail the "dead in such a manner as to change their state of happiness to misery" [*could any living being utter a wish of such diabolical malignity, and call it a prayer?*] "or the reverse; but only so as to secure a diminution "of punishment, or any thing of a like kind which does not change the "state of the dead,"—we ask what proof is there of the faithful dead having to undergo punishments at all? Certainly S. Paul whether he speaks of the faithful dead as in the presence and keeping of the Lord immediately after death, 2 Cor. v. 6, 8: Phil. i. 23, or whether he speaks of them as sleeping, 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52: 1 Thess. iv. 14, 16, yet gives no hint of suffering or punishment which needs diminution or alleviation.

has left the body in a state of unrepented and unforgiven sin, may nevertheless obtain pardon in the disembodied state; and that this pardon may be the direct result of the prayers of the faithful living, and without those prayers would not be granted.

2. It has been maintained that the soul of one who has died in the true Faith may have after this life to endure the penalties entailed by sin, although the sin itself may be forgiven. If the distinction between sin and its consequences be drawn, it is possible that the sin may be, through the merits of Christ, once for all pardoned; but that nevertheless the consequences of sin may remain even in the world beyond the grave. We know that in this world the forgiveness of sin does not of necessity imply the removal of the temporal penalty. Just as the child which was the fruit of David's adultery was smitten, notwithstanding his fasting and tearful supplication, even after his own sin had been put away; or, just as in our own experience we may see a man once intemperate, who shall have relinquished with genuine repentance his debaucheries, and may yet have to bear in a wasted frame and faculties prematurely decayed the penalty of former faults, although they be forsaken and forgiven,—so, if the same rule should hold in the future world, it might be possible that there would have to be endured even by the faithful dead punishments or purgations[1]; which

[1] "We know that we have in us passive bad habits, unheavenly tastes, "which the soul contracts through sin, and which remain after the guilt "of sin is remitted, and that these must be removed before our entrance "into heaven, into which nothing that is impure or imperfect may enter. "S. Macarius thought that these were removed by God in an instant. The

nevertheless might be alleviated or abbreviated by the prayers of the faithful living.

3. It has been taught that the faithful dead, who are not yet admitted into the actual presence of God, are in a state of partial bliss; and that in this intermediate state their bliss is capable of increase[1]; so that, by means of the prayers of friends on earth, they may be admitted into higher and yet higher degrees of light and happiness.

4. It has been supposed that the faithful dead in the intermediate state are incapable of any increase of happiness until the great and final separation between good and bad at the last day: that their state is one of blissful anticipation, but is not to be affected by prayers offered from the earth. So that the duty of living friends would be confined to offering to God thanksgiving for those who had been safely taken to their haven of rest; to setting forth and commemorating their good examples for the encouragement of those still engaged in the warfare of life; and to praying that the full manifestation of God's kingdom may come quickly.

"same has been held by very thoughtful minds, who yet had a deep per-"ception of the holiness of God's love. Others may think it more probable "that God removes the stain gradually, as it was gradually contracted, and "that a man's cleansing after death will bear some relation to his cleansing "in this life, as S. Augustine often suggests. Only as regards the eternal "condition, as the tree has fallen so will it lie: and the eternal distinction "between the lost and the saved is not confused by the process." Bp. of Brechin, Art. XXII. p. 346.

[1] So S. Chrysostom, "That if he departed a sinner, it may do away his "sins; but if righteous, that it may become an increase of reward and "recompence." Homil. XXXI. in S. Matt. ix. 22, 23, p. 456 Oxford Trans.

See also Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, pp. 384, 385.

If these statements fairly represent the opinions which have from time to time prevailed, we may further remark that, assuming for the moment the last hypothesis to represent the belief of primitive Christianity, it would be easy to trace how from that grew the notion that an increase of happiness for the faithful dead might be obtained by intercession: then, that as an increase of happiness for the good, so an abatement of punishment for the bad: then, further developing from that, the full-blown notion of a Purgatory. That something of this sort was the course in which opinion actually travelled, we shall endeavour to show in the proper place: but before we quit the four opinions we have stated, we crave leave to protest, by way of anticipation, against the inconsistency of not a few modern writers, who set forth the third hypothesis as the one to be maintained; and forthwith proceed to uphold it by arguments which can only have force if the first, or at any rate the second hypothesis were true. These arguments, and the quotations and authorities by which they are supported, we now proceed to investigate: and in order to do so with some method, we raise the question, "Who are those among the dead, on whose behalf "Prayer should be offered up?"

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CHAPTER I.

THE QUESTION CONSIDERED,

"Who are those among the dead, on whose behalf "Prayer should be offered up?"

When in any way the question has to be answered "Who are those for whom we should offer prayer?" the reply now usually made is "The *faithful* dead:" and this reply is made with a degree of certainty and assurance, as if no other notion ever could be or ever had been entertained[1]. But they who put forth this assertion with such confidence must abide by their position;

[1] "Of course, if praying for the departed implied that any change could "be made in the state of those who died in mortal sin, these and such like "texts would be of some pertinence. But such an idea has never been "entertained. It was the "dead in Christ," not the "dead in sins" who were "prayed for." Dr Lee, "The Christian Doctrine of Prayer for the Departed," p. 153.

But such an idea must at least have been entertained by the framers of that Prayer in the old Roman Missal, which asks concerning the soul of one departed, as for "one dead in sins," "that forasmuch as we are distrustful "of the quality of his life, by the abundance of Thy pity we may be com-"forted; and if his soul cannot obtain full pardon, yet at least in the midst "of the torments themselves which peradventure it suffereth, out of the "abundance of Thy compassion it may feel refreshment." Quoted from Grimoldus's Sacramentary, by Archbishop Usher, *Answer to a Jesuit*, chap. VII. p. 211.

Then there are the tales of the soul of the heathen Emperor Trajan, delivered from hell by the prayers of Pope Gregory: of the soul of Falconilla, "a Gentile and an idolatress, altogether profane, and a servitor "of another God," prayed for by Thecla:—of the skull of one who had been a priest of idols, that spoke to S. Macarius, and asserted that he and those with him in torments received some little ease from the prayers

and we shall take exception to all quotations adduced in support of their theory, if we find in the passages alleged the plainly expressed notion of helping, by the prayers of the living, grievous sinners departed.

Yet such quotations are most commonly brought forward; for instance,

S. Chrysostom, Hom. XLI. on 1 Cor. xv. "But grant "that he departed with sin upon him, one ought .... to "help him as far as possible, not by tears, but by prayers "and supplications and alms and offerings," &c.

Again, Hom. LXII. on S. John xi.

"Was the dead man a sinner and a great offender "against God, we must weep over him; or rather, not "weep only, for this can profit him nothing; but do what "can give him comfort, viz. Do alms and offerings."

Again, Hom. XXI. on Acts ix.

"Mourn for the sinner . . . verily sinners deserve "mourning when they stand at the judgment seat of "Christ .... shall we not mourn over him? shall we not "try to snatch him from his dangers? For it is possible, "it is possible if we will, for his chastisement to be made "lighter unto him. If then we make continual prayers "and give alms on his behalf, though he be unworthy, "yet will God regard us," &c. &c.

These passages are all quoted in extenso in defence of the practice of praying for the dead, in an

offered for the dead.—These tales may be rejected as feigned and apocryphal, and we will not gainsay the verdict; but considering that those who set them down on record appeal "to the witness of the whole East "and West for their incontrovertible truth," it is impossible to maintain that "the idea has never been entertained." The whole of the tales are set out at length by Archbp. Usher, *Answer to a Jesuit*, pp. 213—218.

Indeed, the Bishop of Brechin quotes from the Roman Liturgy prayers

"Address to the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bris-"tol," &c. pp. 12, 13. The 41st Homily of S. Chrysostom is quoted (but without the first sentence in English on p. 71, though in the note on p. 72 the reference to the passage is headed εἰ δὲ καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς ἀπῆλθη κ.τ.λ.) by Dr Lee himself, pp. 71, 72. He goes on to quote S. Chrysostom, saying, "There-"fore let us not grow weary in rendering them help, "and in offering prayers on their behalf, for the "common propitiation of the whole world is now be-"fore us. Consequently we now pray for the whole "world, and mention them with the martyrs, confes-"sors and priests," &c. &c.

Is it possible to reconcile these extracts from S. Chrysostom with the statement that such an idea has never been entertained as praying for those who died in mortal sin? S. Chrysostom demands our prayers not only for one who may have departed with sin upon him,—for one who may have been a great offender against God,—but for the whole world. To the modern upholders of the practice we would say "Either boldly stand to the duty "of universal prayer for *all* those departed this life, or

to the effect that God would 'save the souls of the departed from hell,' 'from the judgment of vengeance,' 'from the mouth of the lion,' from 'the 'hands of the enemy,' that they endure not 'everlasting punishments,' 'the 'fire of Gehenna and the flame of hell:' p. 314; and adds, p. 317, "Perhaps "it may not be an improbable conjecture that the Church at first prayed for "all the departed in one tenour, without discriminating, leaving it to God "to hear her in whatever way He knew for each; and so, that the prayers "for deliverance from hell, related to souls on whom the particular judg-"ment was not yet passed; those for saints were for increase of their glory," &c. But whether we accept the conjecture as probable, or reject it as improbable, what becomes of the assertion that none but the faithful dead have ever been prayed for?

"else cease to invoke S. Chrysostom as a witness; the "prayers you are contending for are not those he was "in the habit of asking for."

The same objection applies to another set of quotations from S. Augustine, namely from the Enchiridion, § 110, and from the Treatise on Care for the Dead, chap. VI.

"It must not be denied that the souls of the de- "parted are relieved by the piety of their surviving "friends, when the Mediator's sacrifice is offered, or "alms are given in the Church on their behalf. . . . when "the sacrifices either of the altar or of any alms are "offered for all the baptized departed, they are thanks- "givings for the very good, propitiations for the not "very bad ones, for the very bad, though they are no "help to the dead, they are at least consolations to the "living. Those whom they do benefit they benefit "either in obtaining for them a full remission of sin, or "verily in rendering damnation itself more bearable."

"Supplications for the spirits of the dead are not to "be omitted, which the Church hath received to be "made for all them that are departed in the Christian "catholic society."

"Because we discern not who those be of the dead "who will be profited by our sacrifices of the altar, our "prayers, and our alms, therefore it behoves us to do all "these for all the regenerate (*i. e.* baptized), that none "of those may be omitted whom these benefits can and "ought to reach; for it is better they should be super- "fluous to those whom they can neither hurt nor bene- "fit, than wanting to those whom they do benefit."

These extracts are taken exactly as they stand, pp. 13, 14, in the "Address to the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol," above alluded to; they are also quoted in part and referred to by Dr Lee, p. 76. Again then we ask, Is there not a manifest inconsistency in asserting that *only* the faithful dead are to be prayed for, and then bringing forward such passages as these in support of the assertion? Are the damned souls, whose damnation is rendered more bearable by the prayers of living friends, to be classed among the "dead in Christ"? Are *all* baptized persons when they die to be reckoned among the faithful dead? Can those departed souls who by the intercessions of the Church on earth are benefited to the extent of "a full remission of sin," be called those in whose state no change is made? Proof at variance with the argument alleged has resulted from catching at the authority of great names; and either the argument must be restated, or the great authorities relinquished.

But if we accept the threefold division made by S. Augustine where he says that the alms and offerings made by surviving friends are, for the very good, thanksgivings; for the not very bad ones, propitiations; for the very bad, no help; no help, that is, to reverse their sentence of damnation, although able, as he says in the next sentence, to render their damnation more bearable; accepting this, I say, how could we possibly stop short of his conclusion that we ought to pray for *all?* The damned would have a special claim upon our prayers, and we should be bound in charity to render their miserable lost estate as bearable as possible: and we

should be constrained to make our prayers *universal*, even though in some cases they might be superfluous, because we could not discern who those might be of the dead who might be profited by our intercessions.

For exactly here comes in the practical difficulty: some die in mortal sin: some die in Christ; many leave this world neither very good nor very bad, baptized and professed members of the Church, who have lived average lives among their fellow-men; and after death their surviving friends might desire the Church's prayers on their behalf; but are they to be reckoned among the "faithful dead"? Who is to decide? Who will supply us with an infallible rule, an authoritative standard, by which we may come in each case to an equitable judgment?—No, once let it be granted that intercessory prayers are of benefit to the holy dead as carrying them to higher degrees of light and happiness, and surely will they soon be offered up both for the "not very bad," and for the "very bad." The warm affections of surviving relatives and friends would be the only guide as far as private prayers were concerned; their eager representations would sway the practice in the public services of the Church. Besides, if prayers be of benefit to the faithful dead, why should they be denied to the "not very bad," who may at any rate have procured, whilst living in the body, thus much desert (as S. Augustine in the same chapter says), that these things may be able to profit them? And then, they can do the "very bad" no harm; no benefit perhaps, yet neither can they hurt them; and to offer up such prayers is a consolation to surviving friends: and

if after all it should turn out (who can tell?—all is so dark and so mysterious in that unknown land—) that even in the case of the very worst of men they might avail to render their awful agonies in any the slightest degree more bearable, would it not be best to have erred on the safe side?

A process of reasoning something of this sort seems ever to lead men on and on, when once they have passed beyond the sober restrictions of commendatory and Eucharistic utterances. The idea on which the doctrine of Purgatory is based has its roots deep in the natural feelings of the human heart, and appeals to very strong sympathies. And though, because it is true that prayers for the dead are of earlier date than any notion of Purgatory, we consequently would not gainsay the statement that the one doctrine does not of strict necessity involve the other, yet there seems a strong tendency in the modern upholders of intercessory prayer for the departed to develope their teaching in the direction of a Purgatory and a preparatory cleansing of some kind somewhere[1].

However, let it for the present be assumed, as most

[1] The ninth chapter of Dr Lee's book is on "The Doctrine of Purgatory:" after a long defence of the doctrine, he ends by apparently accepting "the formal statements of the Council of Trent,—taken literally "and independent of modern gloss, and the fantasies of fervent fanatics," p. 132.

The Bp. of Brechin, while candidly admitting that the protest of our Article XXII. is still needed against superstitious abuses to this day continued (p. 307), yet pleads that there are views of Purgatory which our Church does not condemn (p. 347), and quotes the Treatise of S. Catherine of Genoa and the Dream of Gerontius, which bring out the *happy* side of the state of souls detained for a time in purgatory: and asks 'Had this been even *an* aspect of Purgatory, presented to the minds

modern writers on the subject do concede in words at least, albeit some of them support their position by props which lean the other way, that the faithful departed *alone* ought to be the subjects of prayer. Let it be assumed that we are right in excluding universal prayer for the whole world of the dead. Let it be assumed that we may reject the notion of obtaining full remission of sin for grievous sinners, of snatching sinners from their danger, of making their chastisement lighter, and of rendering damnation itself more bearable, S. Chrysostom and S. Augustine notwithstanding: then the question which remains for us to investigate is this, "*For what* are we to ask on behalf of the "blessed dead?" To this the answer must be mainly determined by what we believe to be the condition of the departed: and to the consideration of this question we now address ourselves.

'of the framers of our Articles, as a possible authoritative exposition 'of the doctrine, who would say that "the Romish Doctrine of Purgatory" 'would ever have been censured in it?' (p. 352).

Dr Littledale says summarily—"we know that the best and holiest "men (and much more the average believers) leave this world bearing "the stains of earthly sin and error, which must be cleansed *somewhere* "before they can be fitted for heaven" (p. 2).

CHAPTER II.

The state of the Soul after Death.

It may sufficiently indicate the belief of the early Church if we briefly state that the current opinion concerning the intermediate state was that the spirits of the departed were in no condition of lethargic inactivity, in no unconscious trance; but that the souls of the faithful straightway after death entered a state of bliss, in Paradise or Abraham's bosom, where yet their bliss was not completely full; and that the souls of the wicked and the unbelievers passed after death into a state of misery, which misery at the day of judgment would be intensified: for that not until the body was reunited to the soul, would the final consummation of eternal happiness or eternal woe be experienced.

Now if this general statement be accepted as fairly representing the early belief concerning the intermediate state, there will then remain two further questions for us to consider; first, whether it was believed that the souls of those who had departed in the true faith were capable of an increase of happiness in that intermediate state? and next, whether such souls were thought to receive, in that state, purgation from the

stain of sin, and gradual preparation for the higher bliss of Heaven?

Both these questions have been answered in the affirmative by modern writers: and upon enquiry into the reasons on which they base their opinions, we are referred to several passages of the New Testament, which they claim as upholding, by direct statement or by plain inference, the doctrines in question. The first of these passages is as follows:—

"Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou "art in the way with him; lest at any time the adver- "sary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver "thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Ve- "rily I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come "out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing." S. Matt. v. 25, &c.

Concerning this passage, we might almost raise the preliminary question whether, due regard being had to the necessary imagery of the parable, anything further is intended than that he who allows the opportunity of reconciliation to slip by, shall be himself dealt with according to the strictest letter of the law. However, controversialists have fastened a further and a deeper meaning on the passage; and it has been claimed in turn

1. By the upholders of an universal restoration: as implying that, when at length the limit shall have been reached, the children of disobedience may be freed from their imprisonment.

2. By the upholders of the Romish doctrine of purgatory: as implying that when believers have paid

to the uttermost farthing the penalty of their sins in the torment of purgatorial fires, they shall then at length be released.

3. By the upholders of the eternity of punishment; as implying that, since the payment of the uttermost farthing must be impossible, there shall *never* be any release.

But how do any of these three opinions tally with the condition of the faithful dead as we have laid it down just now? Those who have been handed over τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ, cannot be those set in Abraham's bosom: those who have been cast εἰς φυλακὴν cannot be those in Paradise. If either opinion (1) or (3) be true, those who die unreconciled, die in their sins; and therefore are beyond the reach of prayer; if the Romish[1] doctrine of purgatory be true, there could indeed be no further question about the necessity of praying for souls detained in purgatory; but we must entirely give up our view of the intermediate state, and must remodel our statements concerning the souls of the faithful dead being so completely in the hand of God, that no tor-

[1] Since in Art. XXII. the commencement, which in 1552 stood "Scholasticorum doctrina de purgatorio," was in Jan., 1563, altered to "Doctrina Romanensium de purgatorio," while the decree of the Council of Trent was not promulgated till December, 1563, it has been argued that the Tridentine doctrine of Purgatory is not condemned by our Article, but only mediæval abuses. This, which is the special pleading of Tract XC., is reproduced by the Bp. of Brechin, Art. XXII. p. 303 and by Dr Lee, p. 123, note. The fact of the decree of Trent being posterior to our Article may be true, but the inference from the fact may be false: for even if they who altered the word Scholasticorum into Romanensium had not the actual words of the Council of Trent before them, they had who reaffirmed the Articles in 1571 and again in 1662, when "Romish" would certainly have been regarded as Tridentine. Cf. Boultbee's *Introduction to Theology*, on Art. XXII. pp. 183, 184.

ment can touch them. In short, laying aside the doctrine of an universal redemption, the passage either supports the notion of a purgatory of torment, or the doctrine of everlasting punishment. Those then who appeal to it in support of the duty of praying for the dead, ought to acknowledge, if they would be consistent, that the faithful dead are lying in the pains of purgatory.

But we are told that among the Fathers Tertullian, S. Cyprian, Origen and S. Jerome interpret the passage "as descriptive of the hidden place where the "souls of the faithful are detained until they are duly "cleansed and prepared for the presence and home of "God[1]."

In support of this assertion reference is made in a note to certain passages in the writings of these Fathers, which upon examination turn out to be as follows: from S. Cyprian this:—

"Aliud est ad veniam stare, aliud ad gloriam per-"venire, aliud missum in carcerem non exire inde donec "solvat novissimum quadrantem, aliud statim fidei et "virtutis accipere mercedem, aliud pro peccatis longo "dolore cruciatum emundari et purgari diu igne, aliud "peccata omnia passione purgasse, aliud denique pen-"dere in diem judicii ad sententiam Domini, aliud "statim a Domino coronari." S. Cyp. *Epist.* Lib. IV. 2 ed. Manutii. *Ep.* 52 ed. Benedic. *Ep.* 55 ed. Ox.

Regarding this passage, I beg to append the explanatory note in the Translation in the Oxford Library of the Fathers, Vol. XVII. p. 128. "This passage is ex-"plained of suffering in this life by Rigalt (whose

[1] Dr Lee, chap. IV. (p. 39).

"general laxity, however, leaves him very little claim "to authority) and Baluzius, among Roman Catholic "interpreters of S. Cyprian, by Albaspinæus, Obs. II. "12. p. 278, by Bp. Fell in our Church, and by Daillé "(*de Pœn. et Satisf.* IV. 10). The objection that the "language would seem hyperbolical, is founded perhaps "only on the laxity of modern penitence, and our prac- "tical ignorance of excommunication. We know not "also what it is to have directly denied our Lord, and "by that act to be cut off from His body, with His "sentence, so often alleged by S. Cyprian, ever before "our eyes 'Whoso denieth me before men, him will I "'also deny before My Father.' Yet whosoever knows "anything of deep consciousness of sin, may think the "expression 'to be purged through fire' not too strong "for the inward consuming, and torture, and drying of "the bones, and fire is used for the sufferings of God's "displeasure by the penitent, Ps. cii. 3. The words "also of Siricius, when distinctly speaking of perpetual "penitence in this life, are altogether parallel to those "in this place, using all its metaphors (*Ep. ad Himmer.* "art. 6, T. I. conc. p. 690, quoted by Daillé from Rive- "tus) 'so far as they, thrust back to their prisons "'(ergastulis) bewailing so heinous an offence with "'continuous lamentations, may be refined by the "'purifying fire (purificatoris-igne decoqui) of penitence, "'so that indulgence may come to their relief, only at "'the very point of death, out of mere mercy, through "'the grace of the Communion.' The text also here "quoted by S. Cyprian (S. Matt. v. 25. S. Luke xii. 58) "is by S. Augustine in the same Church, and by most

"fathers, interpreted of a prison from which they "should never come forth, Hell. S. Ambr. in S. Luc. "S. Hil. in S. Matt. S. Aug. *de serm. Dom. in monte,* "l. 1, § 30. Theoph. in S. Luc. S. Jerome in S. Matt. "implies the same. Tertullian (*de anim. fin.*) applies "it apparently to a fore-suffering of hell. Stapleton "Antid. Ev. says that 'few Catholics interpret it of "'Purgatory.' The first clause 'ad veniam stare' is "certainly most naturally interpreted of penance: (it is "so used *Ep.* 60. § 2. 'Stare ad criminis veniam.') The "last 'to wait in suspense to the day of Judgment,' is "inconsistent, at least, with the modern Roman doc- "trine of Purgatory, according to which souls therein "know from the first of their salvation, and, when "released from Purgatory, ascend at once to heaven," &c. &c.

No further explanations of the passage quoted need be added: this only may be fairly remarked, that either the meaning of S. Cyprian is what is given above, or else he strangely contradicts himself by affirming elsewhere that when once this life is ended, there is no more room for repentance; for instance:

"Quando istinc excessum fuerit, nullus jam pœni- "tentiæ locus est, nullus satisfactionis effectus. Hic "vita aut amittitur aut tenetur."

Liber ad Demet. § 16. p. 224, ed. Paris.

"Confiteantur singuli, quæso vos, fratres dilectissimi, "delictum suum dum adhuc qui deliquit in sæculo est, "dum admitti confessio ejus potest, dum satisfactio et "remissio facta per sacerdotes apud Dominum grata "est." *Liber de lapsis,* § 14. pp. 190, 191, ed. Paris.

"Ad refrigerium justi vocantur, ad supplicium rapi-
"untur injusti. Datur velocius tutela fidentibus, per-
"fidis pœna."

Liber de mortalitate, § 14. p. 233, ed Paris.

The words of S. Jerome (Com. in Matt. v. 25) appear to be only a paraphrase on the text itself, containing precisely the same ambiguity (if it be an ambiguity) as the text does; and therefore, like it, liable to the same twofold interpretation. Indeed S. Jerome is cited by Bp. Wordsworth (note on Matt. v. 25) as proving that the soul shall *never* "come out thence." And that such is his meaning is the opinion of the Oxford Translator (see the above-quoted note). Jerome's words are "non egredieris de carcere, donec "etiam minima peccata persolvas." At any rate, there is nothing concerning the souls of the faithful—nothing concerning any purgation or preparation for the home of God.

The treatise of Tertullian, *De Anima*, was undoubtedly written by him after he became a Montanist. In that treatise he certainly implies that the souls even of the righteous must undergo in Hades some compensatory discipline, and says "Novissimum quadrantem, "modicum quodque delictum morâ resurrectionis illic "luendum interpretemur." § 58; and comp. § 35. But then, although he attributes this notion to the disclosures of the Paraclete, he was, although unwittingly, influenced by the prevalent philosophy: for, as Bp. Kaye says (*Writings of Tertullian*, p. 329), "the notion "of a purification which is necessary to the soul before "it can be admitted to the happiness of heaven, is of

"Platonic origin." Moreover Tertullian's teaching on this point is coloured by his belief in a Millennium: "the "delay in the resurrection" being the punishment of not having part in the first resurrection. "The wife," he says in another place, "prays for her husband's soul, "and requests for him refreshment meanwhile, et in "primâ resurrectione consortium," *de Monog.* § x. cf. *cont. Marc.* III. § 24. "Hæc ratio regni cælestis, post "cujus mille annos, intra quam ætatem concluditur "sanctorum resurrectio pro meritis maturius vel tardius "resurgentium," &c.

Origen among other eccentric notions broached the idea that the souls of *all* men would eventually be saved; and he certainly, in his homily on S. Luke, regards the φυλακή there mentioned as a place of purification, wherein the souls detained would be prepared for final restoration. His words are "Quodsi magnum "præmium debuerimus sicut ille qui dicitur decem "millia debuisse, quanto tempore claudamur in carcere "donec reddamus debitum, non possum manifeste pro- "nunciare.....utique qui tanto debito fuerit obnoxius, "infinita ei ad reddendum debitum sæcula numerabun- "tur." Hom. XXXV. in Luc. T. III. 975.

Now what is the result of the investigation of these passages from the Fathers to those who so confidently appeal to them? The authority of S. Cyprian is denied to them; the authority of S. Jerome is by no mean commentators quoted against them; Tertullian when a heretic is allowed to have used the passage to support his unorthodox philosophising opinions; Origen to have interpreted the parallel passage of S. Luke in

favour of his notion of an universal Restoration. The majority of the Fathers interpret the prison to mean Hell: and the weight of Patristic Authority is thrown into the same scale with that of the vast majority of subsequent commentators.

Another modern writer[1], however, in upholding prayers for the dead, affirms roundly that "Holy Scrip-"ture tells us of temporary punishment after death;" and in support of this assertion quotes the passage concerning the "uttermost farthing;" and remarks—"This "has been twisted to mean that we shall not come out "at all, because the debt is too large for us to pay at "any time; but that is not the natural meaning of the "words, nor the way that an honest Protestant com-"mentator, like Olshausen, explains them."

But is the writer of this insinuation not aware that "the twist," as he is pleased to call it, was given long before the time of Protestant divines[2]? That S. Chrysostom so twisted it? That S. Theophylact, although

[1] Dr Littledale, pp. 2, 3.

[2] Regarding this passage S. Chrysostom says Hom. on S. Matt. xvi. 13 (Oxford Trans. p. 248), 'Some say he obscurely signifies the devil himself 'under the name of the Adversary; and bids us have nothing of his (for 'this they say is to agree with him): no compromise being possible after 'our departure hence, nor anything awaiting us but punishment from which 'no prayer can deliver. But to me he seems speaking of the judges in 'this world,' &c. But in Hom. xiv. § 6 (on S. Matt. iv. 20,—Oxford Trans. p. 195): 'Let us therefore come before His face with confession—let us 'bewail and mourn. For if we should be able to prevail upon the Judge 'before the appointed day to forgive us our sins, then we need not so much 'as enter into Court: as, on the other hand, if this be not done, He will hear 'us publicly in the presence of the world, and we shall no longer have any 'hope of pardon. For not one of those who have not done away with their 'sins here, when he hath departed thither shall be able to escape his ac-'count there; but as they who are taken out of these earthly prisons are 'brought in their chains to the place of judgment, even so all souls, when

he takes the passage in S. Matthew to refer merely to prudential motives in relation to earthly lawsuits, yet argues from the parallel passage in S. Luke that the punishment must needs be eternal, inasmuch as the last farthing never can be paid? That S. Ambrose teaches that it is in *this life* that we must free ourselves from the adversary's chains? That an honest Romanist, like Maldonatus, explains the words of S. Matthew to mean that those who are once cast into that prison shall never come out thence, because the merited penalty can never be fully paid? That while a few Romanist controversialists (Bellarmine, Salmero, and one or two others) take the word φυλακή definitely to mean Purgatory, the greater number suppose it to mean the infernum, and allow that the passage ought not to be urged in defence of a probation in purgatory? There is nothing so unfair in controversy as an insinuation; the meaning covertly implied in the remark about twisting the text, and the honest Protestant commentator, is that other commentators have with little honesty handled the Word of God deceitfully; as if such commentators as Bengel, Meyer, Stier, Tholuch, Alford and Wordsworth are to be branded as dishonest, because the opinion of Dr Littledale does not happen to coincide with theirs.

'they have gone away hence bound with the manifold chains of their sins, 'are led to the awful judgment-seat.'

Theophylact says (in Luc. xii. 59), Nunquam autem impleta est pœnæ mensura, semper ergo puniemur. Si enim in carcere manebimus donec extremum minutum reddamus, et nunquam reddituri sumus, manifestum quod æternum sit futurum supplicium.

S. Ambrose says (in Luc. xii. 59), Demus igitur operam, ut dum in hoc sumus vitæ curriculo constituti, tanquam a malo adversario, ita ab improbo liberemur actu, &c.

Considering however that this controverted Text has been in turn adduced by the upholders of an universal Restoration, of a Purgatory, and of endless punishments, while by not a few it has been explained as having to do with only earthly relations, and as implying that one who goes to law with his adversary does but make his case worse, it is impossible to accept the passage as decisive on the question of a state of preparation after death, or a state of the faithful departed in which progression and improvement are possible. Rather the question recurs in all its original difficulty, 'Is 'it possible to conceive of the soul of man as capable of 'improvement in the disembodied state?' And the difficulty is not slight. Body soul and spirit make up the tripartite nature called man; but how can the soul be purged, the spirit purified in the disembodied state, and yet the identity be preserved? If distinct passages of Holy Writ can be adduced which reveal to us the reality or the possibility of such gradual improvement, our difficulty would be at an end. 'Such 'passages there are,' reply the upholders of the modern dogma. 'Let us by all means investigate them,' we rejoin; and the following passages[1] are brought forward as indicating that "the time of sanctification extends, "and the work of sanctification goes on, until the great "day of Judgment[2]."

(α) ἀπεκδεχομένους τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὃς καὶ βεβαιώσει ὑμᾶς ἕως τέλους ἀνεγ-

[1] These passages are quoted both by Dr Lee, p. 46, and by Dr Littledale, p. 3.

[2] Dr Lee, p. 46, *Note.*

κλήτους ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 1 Cor. i. 8.

Literally, "Waiting for the revelation of our Lord "Jesus Christ; who will also confirm you finally blame-"less in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ." Where observe

1. That "to confirm" does not mean "to sanctify progressively:" the promise is concerning preservation, not concerning gradual improvement hereafter.

2. That the idea of 'gradual improvement' is not to be found in a negative adjective like ἀνεγκλήτους. Besides, the fact of being *confirmed* in any condition implies first of all being in that condition: and if first of all blameless, in what respect to be improved afterwards?

3. That admitting the supplemental mode of translating the tertiary predicate which stands in the English authorised version "*that ye may be* blameless," the passage by no means countenances progressive sanctification hereafter—for ἕως τέλους would signify either "the end of your lives," or "the end of this present dis-"pensation," which would take place at the revelation of Christ; an event which they were expecting as at least possible in their own day.

(β) "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly; "and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body "may be preserved blameless *unto the coming* of our "Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is He that calleth you, "who also will do it." 1 Thess. v. 23, 24.

The fallacy of basing the inference here sought to be established on the words translated in the E. V.

unto the coming, is at once exposed by pointing out that the Greek words are *ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ—in,* not *unto:* "in—for it will be *in* that day that the result will be "seen." Alford *in loc.*

Besides, the negative *ἀμέμπτως* would of itself destroy the notion of gradual improvement. Moreover *ἀμέμπτως* is not an adjective and a tertiary predicate, as translated in the English Version, but an adverb qualifying *τηρηθείη*: the preservation (not the thing preserved) is to be faultless, *i. e.* perfect: and the wish is 'may your entire being in its several parts be perfectly 'preserved [until, and appear in faultless perfection] at 'the coming of our Lord.' What idea of progress after death can be implied here? Non-deterioration is indeed implied, but nothing else.

(γ) "That ye may be sincere and without offence "*till the day* of Christ." Phil. i. 10.

Again an erroneous inference from a mis-translation. *εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ,* 'against the day of Christ;' in diem, Vulg., scil. *ἵνα τότε εὑρεθῆτε καθαροί,* Chrys. Bp. Ellicott *in loc.*

Not "until" but "for the day of Christ." Prof. Lightfoot *in loc.*

Indeed the rendering "till" would probably require a stronger verb than *ἦτε.* But allowing that to pass, the adjectives are practically negative, *εἰλικρινεῖς* 'unsullied,' *ἀπρόσκοποι* 'without stumbling;' indicating only preservation from deterioration till the day of Christ.

(δ) "I give thee charge...that thou keep this com-"mandment without spot, unrebukeable, until the ap-

"pearing of our Lord Jesus Christ." μέχρι τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14.

The Apostle, conceiving the coming of the Lord to be possible at any time, here speaks as if that manifestation might take place in Timothy's lifetime. To be sure S. Chrysostom takes the expression to refer to the death of Timothy—τουτέστι, μέχρι τῆς σῆς τελευτῆς, μέχρι τῆς ἐξόδου—but the regular meaning of ἐπιφανεία, and the words which follow, ἣν καιροῖς ἰδίοις δείξει ὁ μακάριος κ.τ λ., show that 'the visible manifestation of 'our Lord at His second advent' is intended; spoken of here as perhaps near at hand, although the strength of the anticipation is qualified by the καιροῖς ἰδίοις in the context. Moreover, the adjectives ἄσπιλον ἀνεπίλημπτον (here also negatives) are predicates not of σέ, but of τήν ἐντολήν.

Cf. the notes of Bp. Ellicott and Alford *in loc.*

We maintain therefore that the passages of Scripture adduced to prove a state of progressive improvement after death, altogether fail to support any such conclusion.

But another modern writer[1], while most excellently describing the state of those who die at peace with God, asserts that the first Christians "believed the Saints in "Paradise to be at rest and happy, because 'with "'Christ;' but not yet fully blessed and glorified, and "therefore capable of a continual increase of light, joy, "and love through the prayers of their brethren left on "earth." In support of this position he brings forward

[1] Rev. W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 385.

passages from S. Clement of Rome, from Justin Martyr, from S. Irenæus, from Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, S. Hilary, S. Augustine. But I venture to think that he entirely fails to make good his inference—and it is nothing more than an inference—by all the passages quoted: in no single passage is there a word about the "prayers of the brethren left on earth":—nor a word about any increase, continual or otherwise, of light and joy. 'But,' he seems to argue, 'the Fathers speak of 'the joy of the righteous as incomplete:—ergo, it must 'be capable of continual increase.' On the contrary, I contend that the passages cited prove that *till the day of judgment* neither consummation nor increase of happiness is to be expected. S. Clement[1] says that "those "who according to the grace of God have finished "their course in charity, possess the place of the godly, "who will be manifested at the visitation of the king-"dom of Christ. For it is written, Enter into thy "chambers a little while, until my wrath and anger "pass away, and I will remember the good day, and "will raise you up again out of your graves," *i.e.* on the morning of the resurrection your joy shall be complete. Justin Martyr[2] affirms that "the souls of the "pious remain in some better place, and the unright-"eous and wicked in a worse place, *awaiting the time*

[1] Ep. 1 ad Cor. § 50.

If the second Ep. of St Clement be accepted, we may fairly refer to the passage where he says: 'So long as we are in this world let us repent 'from our whole heart of the sins which we while in the flesh have com-'mitted, that we may be saved from the hand of the Lord while we have 'time for repentance. For after we have departed from this world, no 'longer can we there confess or repent.' Ep. 2 ad Cor. § VIII.

[2] *Dial. cum Tryph.* § 5.

"*of judgment:*" *i. e.* remaining unchanged until the day of judgment. S. Irenæus[1] teaches that "The souls of "Christ's disciples go into the unseen place assigned to "them by God, and stay there till the Resurrection, "waiting for the Resurrection; then, reassuming their "bodies, and rising again in completeness, that is, "in the body, even as the Lord rose again, will thus "come to the sight of God:"—but where is anything hinted about a change previously produced by the prayers of living friends?

I need not pursue at length the whole string of quotations. They are passages which prove conclusively that early Christianity did not hold the Romish belief in a Purgatory; and so far they well support Mr Scudamore's argument; but I crave leave to protest against his *obiter dictum* concerning the continual increase of joy obtained through the prayers of brethren on earth; because it is really not only not substantiated by the facts of the case, but actually contradicted by the witnesses called to prove it. Indeed is it possible that Justin Martyr could have entertained such an opinion as is here fastened on him, when in another place he quotes as an utterance of Christ Himself, the words 'In 'what things I find thee, in those will I judge thee'? *Διὸ καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἶπεν· Ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ.*

Dial. cum Tryph. § 47, p. 267.

I need not discuss whether Grabe[2] is right in supposing that this was a saying preserved in the Gospel according to the Hebrews; from whatever source de-

[1] Lib. v. cap. xxxi. § 2.

[2] Grabe, *Spicileg.* pp. 14. 327.

rived, Justin attributed it to the lips of Christ Himself: so apparently did Clemens Alexandrinus[1]:—my contention is, that those who believed Christ spoke such words, could not have believed that the prayers of the living could confer a continual increase of joy upon the faithful dead; much less have worked any amelioration in the condition of the unrighteous.

But it is contended that passages can be produced from Holy Writ, which go the whole length of upholding the practice of praying for the dead: and the first quotation brought forward is the well-known passage from 2 Maccabees xii. 39—45.

"And upon the day following, as the use had been, "Judas and his companions came to take up the bodies "of them that were slain, and to bury them with their "kinsmen in their fathers' graves. Now under the "coats of every one that was slain they found things "consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites, which is for- "bidden the Jews by the law. Then every man saw "that this was the cause wherefore they were slain. "All men therefore praising the Lord, the righteous "Judge, who had opened the things that were hid, be- "took themselves to prayer; and besought Him that "the sin committed might be wholly put out of remem- "brance. Besides, that noble Judas exhorted the peo- "ple to keep themselves from sin, forsomuch as they "saw before their eyes the things that came to pass for "the sins of those that were slain. And when he had "made a gathering throughout the company to the

[1] Quis dives salvetur § 40. *ἐν οἷς γὰρ ἂν εὕρω ὑμᾶς, φήσιν, ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ.*

"sum of two thousand drachms of silver, he sent it to "Jerusalem to offer a sin-offering, doing therein very "well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the "resurrection; for if he had not hoped that they that "were slain should have risen again, it had been super-"fluous and vain to pray for the dead. And also in "that he perceived that there was great favour laid up "for those that died godly, it was an holy and good "thought. Whereupon he made reconciliation for the "dead, that they might be delivered from sin."

Concerning this passage, if it be intended "to apply "it to establish any doctrine," we take exception to an Apocryphal Book being so applied, and believe that the express words of the VIth Article relieve us of the necessity of attempting any further reply. But if it be relied on only so far as it proves that "such prayer for "the dead was a common and acknowledged practice of "that period"—then we point out that for the upholders of the modern dogma the passage proves too much; for these were not "the faithful dead," over whom noble Judas and the people made their sin-offering; they were idolaters—apostates—who under their coats had secreted things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites; and who for their sin were accordingly cut off in their sin, and required that a reconciliation should be made for them that they might be delivered from sin. It is true that the passage, without in any way implying the notion of purgatorial penalties, goes upon the supposition that those cut off in sin can in some degree still receive profit by the intercession of the living; but then what becomes of the assertion that

"such an idea has never been entertained," as that "praying for the dead implied that any change could "be made in the state of those who died in mortal sin," in the face of such a passage as this, the whole gist of which is that a sin-offering was made for those who had died in mortal sin? It is of importance to insist upon this point, because a further argument has been built up from the custom of praying for the dead alluded to in the Book of Maccabees, which may be stated thus[1]: Because the Jews 160 years before the coming of our Lord,—and during the time that He was on earth,—prayed for the dead, and He nowhere reprehended the practice, therefore we are to infer *a silentio* that He approved and sanctioned it. Yet if this argument be allowed, it would be *sinners*, not the righteous dead, for whom we should be bound to pray: for Judas made a reconciliation for those who had very grievously sinned against the Law, that they might be delivered from their sin: so that again the inference would prove too much. Besides, the argument *a silentio* is two-edged, and cuts both ways; for throughout the Canonical Books

[1] "We find by the history of the Maccabees that the Jews did pray "and make offerings for the dead, which also appears by other testimonies, "and by their forms of prayer still extant, which they used in the captivity. "Now it is very considerable that, given our Blessed Saviour did reprove all "the evil doctrines and traditions of the scribes and Pharisees, and did "argue concerning the dead and the resurrection against the Sadducees, "yet He spake no word against this public practice, but left it as He found it; "which He who came to declare to us all the will of the Father would not "have done if it had not been innocent, pious, and full of charity." Bp. Jeremy Taylor, *Dissuasive*, Pt. 1, chap. 1, § 4. Quoted by Dr Lee, p. 169. On the other hand cf. the Funeral Sermon for the Emperor Ferdinand by Archbishop Grindal, *Remains*, in Parker Soc. p. 23. (Quoted below in the 2nd part, page 65.)

of Scripture a deep silence is preserved concerning praying for the departed. The Patriarchs and Kings were buried with long mourning, but without any mention made of prayer: the devout men who carried Stephen to his burial, made great lamentation over him, but prayed not for him. In places where we might have expected mention made of such prayers, had they been customarily used among the Christians of S. Paul's day, we find an entire absence of any allusion to them. When his reasoning turns upon the resurrection, the Apostle asks what those are about who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all: why did he not further ask, 'And what is the whole Church doing, 'when She prays for the dead?' or why did he not comfort the Thessalonians, when bidding them not to sorrow as others who have no hope concerning them which are asleep, by reminding them that they could pray for them?

But the mention made by S. Paul of Onesiphorus is alleged as *decisive* on the question. By comparing these two passages together..."The Lord give mercy "unto the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed "me, and was not ashamed of my chain...The Lord "grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord "in that day," 2 Tim. i. 16, 18; and, at the end of the same epistle among the salutations, "Salute Pris-"ca and Aquila, and the household of Onesiphorus," 2 Tim. iv. 19, the conclusion has been drawn that Onesiphorus was dead, that only his household was left to be saluted, and that the Apostle prayed that the Lord would have mercy on his soul in the day of judgment.

The conclusion is not however so entirely certain. S. Chrysostom could have no prejudice against prayers for the dead, when he wrote[1] that Onesiphorus was then in Rome: and Theodoret, taking the same view, explains the wish to mean that the Lord might give mercy not only to Onesiphorus, but to his whole household. It cannot therefore well be said to be *certain* that Onesiphorus was dead. But if for argument's sake we allow that it may be regarded as probable that he was dead, what follows? Not, certainly, that he was detained in any place of purgatory; for the reference is to the day of judgment; nor that he was to be brought gradually to higher and yet higher states of bliss; for of any such progressive increase of happiness there is not a hint. If his friend were dead, S. Paul uttered a pious wish that the mercy shown by him in his lifetime might have the recompence of mercy at the judgment-seat: and if prayers for the dead had never taken any other shape than that, little scruple would ever have been felt at using them. For precisely here comes in the real objection: upon such a simple utterance as this —which neither goes the length of asking for any remission of penalties in the intermediate state, nor of pleading for any "progression and improvement be-"tween death and the general judgment-day[2]"—the whole force of which moreover depends upon the assumption, more or less probable, of the death of him

[1] Hom. x., on 2 Tim. IV. (p. 262, Oxford ed.).

[2] "Furthermore, it appears certain from the Apostolic writings that the "dead can be benefited by the living, and that the state of the righteous "or faithful departed between their death and the general judgment day "is one in which progression and improvement are possible." Dr Lee, p. 99.

concerning whom the utterance was made—there is built up a superstructure, out of all proportion to the very slender foundation on which it rests. The little cloud, at first no bigger than a man's hand, has swollen till at last the sky is overshadowed by it. Nothing is more noticeable than the rapid development of the doctrine, and of the practice which it is made to cover. At first honourable mention is made of Saints departed; thanks are given to God on their account; they are commended to God's care. Then intercessions are made for the not very bad; next for the whole world of the dead—except the Martyrs[1]: it would be derogatory to pray for them who rather should pray for us: and so prayers for the dead lead on to prayers to the dead; and invocations of Saints become common. Then follows on the flood of medieval corruptions, and the for-

[1] S. Augustine appears to have been the first who mentions, if he did not introduce this custom. "The names of the Martyrs are recited at "the altars in such a place, that prayer is not made for them there; but "for the other dead commemorated prayer is made. For it is wrong to "pray for a Martyr, to whose prayers we ought to be commended.' Serm. clix. The sentiment soon acquired such authority that it was quoted as from Holy Scripture, and extended to other saints, by Innocent III.: and found its way into the Canon Law. "Whereas the authority of "Sacred Writ says that 'he does a wrong to a Martyr, who prays for a "Martyr,' the same is for like reason to be thought with regard to other "saints." Quoted p. 383, by Mr Scudamore, who gives curious illustrations of the change made in the missals. One in an old Irish missal, where after the words "the Presbyter N. doth offer for himself and for his, and for "the company of the whole Catholic Church,"—there follow ten pages of names of deceased persons, to each of which a *later* hand, on the supposition that they were names of saints, has added the formula "Pray "for us."—Another in the Gregorian Sacramentary, where the words "Grant that this oblation may profit the soul of thy servant Leo," have been altered in the Roman missal to "Grant that by the intercession of "the blessed Leo this oblation may profit us." So marked are the strides of the development.

mulated doctrine of Purgatory. Again, therefore, we insist that all prayers for the dead are not the same: that they differ, as in language so in design[1]. There are utterances Eucharistic, commendatory, and intercessory. The gradual growth of the system from small beginnings, and the tendency to deviate from primitive simplicity, may be traced in the Liturgies of the Early Church: these we will now briefly refer to; and we shall endeavour to show that the earliest forms used are simply *inconsistent* with the theories developed in later times.

[1] It has been insisted, that to charge the Church of England with discontinuing the *universal* practice of praying for the dead, would be to charge Her with severing Herself from Catholic Faith and Catholic practice. The question, whether, as an historical fact, the Church of England has, or has not, in her public services deliberately discontinued prayers for the dead, must be settled on other grounds than an appeal to imaginary consequences. But we may reasonably ask, What sort of prayers are those, and for what sort of persons offered, for which the claim of *Universality* can be set up? Are they prayers which contain Invocations of Saints? In the days of Epiphanius and Athanasius to adore saint or angel was counted a mark of heresy. Are they prayers for souls in Purgatory? Before the time of Origen the notion of a Purgatory was not broached. Are they prayers for the faithful dead? Even that limit has not always been observed. In short, the custom has so varied, that the rule *Quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* finds in this case no application. The prayers used have been at one time thanksgivings for saints, at one time memorials of good examples, at one time intercessions for sinners: differing in aim and object in different ages, and differing to this day in the churches of the East and of the West. And if upon investigation it should prove that the Church of England has discontinued the practice altogether, it may also turn out that in so doing she has only fallen back upon the rule *Quod ab initio*,—the use most primitive of all.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning Prayers for the Dead in the Early Liturgies.

We may arrive approximately at the date of some of the early Liturgies; but in attempting to do this, we can only determine the age of the original text, the nucleus, as it were, around which later accretions have clung, when we have some extraneous helps to assist our investigations. For from the nature of the case additions would be grafted on from time to time to the older forms; and these would become inextricably interwoven with the primitive text; so that we need the checks which translations into other languages, or the uses of different Churches supply us with[1]. It is almost unnecessary to say that because a Liturgy goes under the name of S. Mark or S. James, we are not therefore to suppose it to have been compiled by the person whose name it bears; nor should we have mentioned this, except for the unfair parade of names[2]

[1] In Bunsen's *Hippolytus and his Age*, vol. IV. (ed. 1852), will be found, p. 233, the *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*, which contain the critically restored texts of the liturgies of the Primitive Church.

[2] Thus the *Address to the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol* quotes, "the Divine Liturgy of S. James (the brother of our Lord, and "first Bishop of Jerusalem);" and "the Divine Liturgy of S. Clement, "(whose name is written in the Book of Life. Phil. iv. 3)."

which has been sometimes made, and the uncritical methods which have been sometimes adopted to fix an early date to a production of later ages[1].

It is usual to appeal to the whole range of early Liturgies, as bearing most unquestionable witness to the practice of praying for the dead; and in general terms this may be true enough. But before admitting without any qualification these sweeping assertions, we claim to have it considered, first, that two witnesses, important as being the earliest, have been overlooked; secondly, that the nature of the petitions in the earlier Liturgies entirely militates against the notions of those who uphold Purgatorial emendations and improvement. The oldest specimen of a Liturgy that is extant is the Alexandrian ritual, preserved in the Abyssinian Constitutions of the Apostles: it was published by Ludolf, but is omitted by Renaudot, as Bunsen[2] says, on purpose. It is proved by the primitive simplicity of its style to belong to the highest antiquity; probably the middle of the second century would be the proper time to assign it to; for it closely resembles the de-

[1] 'Neale and Littledale' in the Liturgy of S. Mark translate the words *διὰ τὴν χήραν καὶ διὰ τὸν ὄρφανον, διὰ τὸν προσήλυτον*..."for the widow "and for the orphan, for the proselyte;" and append this note: "If this "word (proselyte), as is probable, is to be taken in its Jewish meaning, "it must fix the date of this intercession to a period of the most remote "antiquity, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem." Can it be really necessary to point out that the regular word in the LXX. for 'stranger' is *προσήλυτος*, and that the ordinary connection of 'widow, orphan and stranger' is of constant occurrence? Cf. Deut. xiv. 29: xvi. 11, 14; xxvi. 12; Ps. cxlvi. 9, &c. &c. Further, we may remark that prior to the destruction of Jerusalem the celebration of the Eucharist had hardly been separated from the Agape.

[2] It is given in Latin, from Ludolf's text, by Bunsen, *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*, vol. IV. p. 240, and is printed in full in the Appendix below, p. 80.

scription which Justin Martyr[1] gives of the celebration of the Eucharist in his own day. Now it is remarkable that neither in this Liturgy, nor in Justin Martyr's description, is any mention made of "all "conditions of men," as in the later Liturgies: there is, in fact, no precatory prayer at all, no prayer for the whole state of the Church, much less for the dead. The prayer before the Communion was not a set formulary, but a free prayer offered by the Bishop "in "the best way he could;" the prayer of Consecration was the Lord's Prayer. Such is a sketch of the earliest mode of celebrating the Eucharist, which has come down to us from sub-apostolic times.

The Liturgy which goes by the name of S. Mark's exhibits the use of the Church of Alexandria in the early part of the third century. Its peculiar feature is a long prayer for the Church and for all conditions of men, which has been inserted into the earlier Liturgy, and is alluded to by Origen; so that the date of its composition may be fixed with probability at the beginning of the third century. The clauses in it 'pro defunctis,' with which we are now concerned, are as follows: "O Lord our God, give repose to the "souls of our fathers and brethren who have already "fallen asleep, having in remembrance our forefathers "from the beginning of the world, fathers, patriarchs, "prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, saints, "just men, and every spirit perfected in the faith of "Christ: and those of whom we this day make "memorial:" [Here probably the names were read

[1] *Apol.* I. cap. 65, 66, 67.

out of the Diptychs[1]:] "To the souls of these give "repose, and count them worthy of the kingdom of "heaven; but to us vouchsafe that the end of our "lives may be Christian, acceptable, and blameless: "and grant us to have a portion and lot with all Thy "saints."

Observe that the prayer neither asks for any increase of light and bliss for the righteous, nor makes any mention of purgations for the general dead; but it includes 'prophets, apostles, martyrs'—praying *for* those *to* whom prayers were subsequently addressed.

The same thing is to be observed in the so-called Clementine Liturgy, a composition of the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century; in this Liturgy, after praying for the Church at large, the prayer proceeds thus: "Moreover we offer to Thee for "all Thy Saints, who from the foundation of the world "have been well-pleasing to Thee, patriarchs, prophets, "just men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, pres- "byters, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, virgins, "widows, laics, and all whose names Thou knowest."

Coming down a little later, S. Cyril in his 5th Mystagogic Catachesis[2], developes the teaching of the Church in his time, saying "We commemorate also

[1] The Diptychs contained the names of living benefactors, as well as of those departed in Catholic communion. Cf. the account given of them by Bingham, vol. v. p. 126, who cites the author under the name of Dionysius, stating that they were read 'partly to excite and conduct 'the living to the same happy state by following their good example; and 'partly to celebrate the memory of them as still living, according to the 'principles of religion, and not properly dead, but only translated by death 'to a more divine life.'

[2] *Mystag.* v. *de Sacra Liturgia*, § ix. p. 328.

"those who have fallen asleep, first the patriarchs, "prophets, apostles, martyrs, that through their prayer "and embassage God would accept our petition. After- "wards we pray on behalf of the holy fathers and "bishops, and in a word for all who have fallen asleep "among us; believing that it will be the greatest "advantage to the souls, on whose behalf the prayer is "offered up, while the holy and most awful victim lies "there." This doctrine he says he knows that many[1] call in question, asking what it profits a soul which departs from this world either with sins or without sins, if it be commemorated in the prayer? And he proceeds to illustrate and to enforce it.

In all later Liturgies prayers for the dead are found, both in the Churches of the East and of the West.

But from the passages we have brought forward we may trace the gradual development of the doctrine. At first, no mention of the dead at all: then, in general terms, a prayer for all God's saints, that their souls might have repose; but the name of no particular

[1] Aerius the Arian ridiculed prayers for the dead, and objected that if the prayers of those in this life advantaged the dead, then no one need lead a pious or virtuous life, but need only get some friends, by bribery or persuasion, to pray for him that he should not suffer there, and he would be free from the penalty of his most desperate crimes. To him Epiphanius replies, that they mentioned the names of the dead because it showed that the living believed that those departed were still alive, and abiding with the Lord; because prayer on their behalf was of benefit to them, although it did not cancel the whole of their guilt; that they made mention both of righteous and of sinners; praying for God's mercy on behalf of sinners; and for righteous men, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, and all orders of men, because they thereby made a distinction between the Lord Jesus Christ and the orders of men. Epiphan. Hæres. LXXV.

saint found place in the Text; the name of the Virgin, or of any of the Apostles, if recited at all, would be read from the Diptychs. The names of the Virgin and of other saints next crept from the Diptychs into the Text of the Liturgy; but they were still prayed for. Lastly came the important change of belief, especially in the West, which led to the corresponding change of practice, and caused the commemoration of Saints to be no longer prayer for them, but worship directed to them.

Here then we pause; and leave the subject so far as the teaching of Holy Writ, and the practice of the Early Church is concerned. We contend that the passages of Scripture which are claimed as proving the fully-developed theory fall very far short of proving anything of the sort; and our strongest protest is directed against formulating out of a few texts, which are at best utterly insufficient and indecisive, a complete system of doctrine and practice. We maintain that the general tenor of the New Testament, so far from favouring the scheme propounded, points markedly in the opposite direction. The probation-state of this life is constantly set forth as the only period in which the blessings of the Atonement may be appropriated: the importance of time and of prudently redeeming the time, is insisted on: and the appeal is ever to turn to-day, while it is called to-day, because of the coming workless night. Again, when it is said[1] that, as no soul leaves this present existence in a fully complete and prepared state, we *must* suppose a realm of pro-

[1] Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, p. 457.

gressive development in the intermediate state, we reply that this necessity has not been demonstrated by Revelation; and that S. Paul seems to tell us that a gradual process of purgation is not at all events *always* necessary, because in the case of the quick at the time of the Parousia, the change will happen "in the twinkling of an eye," their glorification will be instantaneous, and the resurrection change having passed upon them without the intervention of death, they will be at once caught up to meet the Lord in the air as He descends towards the earth. If it be urged that the soul has an uncontrolled longing[1] after a state of higher perfection, while we grant the fact, we contend that the method by which this perfection is to be reached is no further revealed to us than by the general statement that the state of the soul depends upon its relation to Christ, to be with whom is to be at home, to be absent from whom is to be in exile. If it be said that to leave the matter there would be to leave unattempted some of the most interesting problems concerning the future state, we answer that speculations concerning the perfectibility of the soul have not seldom ended in extravagance[2]; and

[1] Origen supposes the principal enjoyment of the future life will consist in the gratification of the desire after knowledge. Then we shall fully understand the types of the Old Testament. Then we shall have a clear insight into the destinies of man: then be instructed concerning the stars. But the highest and last degree is the intuitive vision of God Himself. Origen *de Princip.* II. 11.

S. Cyprian (*de Mortalitate*, sub fin.) describes the happiness of meeting friends, parents, children, brethren; apostles, prophets, martyrs, &c.

[2] Origen taught that the blessed dwell in the aërial regions (1 Thess. iv. 17), and take notice of what happens in the air. Immediately after their departure from this earth, they go first to paradise (eruditionis locus, auditorium vel schola animarum): as they grow in knowledge and in

that any rate for man to define and to dogmatise concerning these mysteries beyond the grave, which after all must remain mysteries still, is to intrude into those things which he hath not seen. There is indeed no inevitable connexion between prayers for the dead and a growth in holiness and in bliss in the intermediate state; some have upheld the latter without insisting on the former[1]: nor certainly does the earlier commemoration of the dead necessarily involve the after-growth of purgatory: but we cannot fail to observe that there is a dangerous tendency in later writers to link dogma to dogma, and to adorn the notions of preceding theologians: a process by which one doctrine speedily developes or degenerates into a different one. So that when Hagenbach is summing up this

piety, they proceed on their journey from Paradise to higher regions, and having passed through various mansions which the Scripture calls heavens, they arrive at last at the kingdom of heaven properly so called. See Hagenbach's *Hist. of Doctrines*, vol. I. p. 220.

Martensen writes that the blessed still need a purifying, an increase of growth in holiness and in bliss: while conversion must still be possible for the unconverted in Hades, p. 463. Yet he ridicules the notion of endless perfectibility which describes the state after death as a gradual progressive and endless elevation of the soul's activity and enjoyment, an ascent from sphere to sphere, and so forth, p. 462.

[1] Martensen, who asserts that there is progress and development in the realm of the dead (p. 463), yet seems to look on prayers for the dead, and certainly on prayers to the saints, as an undue extension of the correct idea (p. 464).

From the speculations of Origen on the purifying fire, which he thought was to take place at the end of the world, and from which he held none (not even Paul not Peter himself) could be exempt, the later theologians evolved the doctrine of purgatorial fires in the intermediate state; but Origen himself says, concerning mention of the dead in prayers, that it appeared seemly and convenient to make memorial of the saints, in order that by the *remembrance* of them the living might be incited to make progress in holiness.—In Job, p. 652. Ed. Ben.

very part of Eschatology, he asserts that it is Gregory the Great (*circiter* 604) 'who may rightly be called 'the inventor of the doctrine of purgatory, if we may 'call it an invention;' explaining that Gregory first laid it down as *an article of faith*, and is the first writer who clearly propounded the idea of a deliverance from purgatory by intercessory prayer and by masses for the dead (sacra oblatio hosticæ salutaris); and he ends by saying, "If we compare Gregory's doctrine "with the former (rather idealistic) notions concerning "the efficacy of the purifying fire, we may adopt the "language of Schmidt: 'The belief in a lasting desire "'after a higher degree of perfection, which death itself "'cannot quench, degenerated into a belief in Purgatory.'" (Vol. I. p. 382.) See also Shedd's *History of Christian Doctrine*, Vol. II. p. 411.

THE TEACHING AND PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

Whether the Church of England sanctions the use of Prayers for the Dead?

The teaching and the practice of the Church of England now remains to be investigated, in which we shall be able to trace a gradual relinquishment, an intentional abandonment of prayers for the dead, although at first the custom was sanctioned by our reformers.

In an "order taken for preaching and bidding of the "beads in all sermons to be made within this realm," dated 1534, the very year of Henry VIII.'s divorce, it is enjoined that "Whosoever shall preach in the pre-"sence of the King's highness or the Queen's grace, "shall in the bidding of the beads pray for the whole "Catholic Church of Christ, as well quick as dead, "and specially for the Catholic Church of this realm." *Cranmer's Remains*, Appendix, (Parker Society, p. 460).

In "The Form of bidding the Common Prayers" set forth 1547, the 1st year of Edward VI.'s reign, this form is given: "Thirdly, ye shall pray for all them that "be departed out of this world in the faith of Christ, "that they with us, and we with them, at the day of "judgment may rest, both body and soul, with Abra-"ham Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven." *Cranmer's Remains, &c.* Append. (Parker Soc. p. 504).

With this should be compared the altered "Form "of Prayer to be used by all Preachers before their "Sermons," directed by our 55th Canon:

"Ye shall pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church, "that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people "dispersed throughout the whole world, &c. &c.... "Finally, let us *praise* God for all those which are "departed out of this life in the faith of Christ, and "pray unto God that we may have grace to direct our "lives after their good example; that, this life being "ended, we may be partakers with them of the glorious "resurrection in the Life everlasting."

It is noteworthy how Latimer, with the Bidding Prayer of 1547 before him, always gives, in the prayer before his sermons, the turn of commendation and praise to his mention of the dead, reserving intercessory prayer for the living: thus in a sermon preached before King Edward, 1549, there are in the Bidding Prayer these words: "In this prayer I will desire you to "remember the souls departed with lauds and praise to "Almighty God, that He did vouchsafe to assist them "at the hour of their death: in so doing you shall be "put in remembrance to pray for yourselves, that it "may please God to assist and comfort you in the ago-"nies and pains of death."

And again, before a sermon preached at Stamford, 1550, "Thirdly, I commend unto you the souls departed "this life in the faith of Christ, that ye remember to "give laud and praise and thanks to Almighty God for "His great goodness and mercy showed unto them in "that great need and conflict against the devil and sin;

"and that gave them at the hour of death faith in His "Son's death and Passion, whereby they might over- "come and get the victory. Give thanks, I say, for "this; adding prayers and supplications for yourselves, "that it may please God to give you like faith and "grace to trust only unto the death of His dear Son, "as He gave unto them." p. 284.

Turning now to the Prayer-book, it will make our argument clearer if we first set side by side those passages in the Communion Service and the Burial Service which bear upon the subject, in order to display the alterations which were made in the successive Revisions; and having done that, we will afterwards draw our inferences.

1662.

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.

And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them, who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. *And we also bless thy holy Name for* all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly

1552, 1559, 1604.

Let us pray for the whole estate of Christ's Church militant here in earth.

And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness (O Lord) to comfort and succour all them which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. Grant, this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate.

Amen.

1549.

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

And we most humbly beseech Thee of Thy goodness (O Lord) to comfort and succour all them, which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. *And especially we commend unto thy merciful goodness this congregation, which is here assembled in thy Name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son:* And here we do give unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for all the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all thy saints, from the beginning of the world; and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord and God, and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, whose ex-

1662.

kingdom: Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

1549.

amples (O Lord) and steadfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy commandments grant us to follow. We commend unto thy mercy (O Lord) all other thy servants who are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world: Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake our only Mediator and Advocate.

There can be no doubt about the *intention* of these alterations; indeed the omission in 1552 of so long a portion of the prayer for Christ's Church, and the addition of the significant words "militant here in "earth," must be set down to a remonstrance made by Bucer[1], who, while he allowed the antiquity of prayers for the faithful dead, yet doubted whether any authority for the practice could be found in Scripture: and pleaded that the vulgar error would be perpetuated, which held that the dead were excluded from God's full mercy until that was procured for them by the prayers of the living. Bucer has been credited of late with effecting, by his own paramount influence, a great many alterations in the Liturgy of the Church of England: yet the effect of the remonstrances made by foreigners has probably been greatly exaggerated; at

[1] *Censura, Scripta Anglicana*, p. 467.

any rate, *all* the alterations recommended by Martyr and Bucer were not carried out; and English divines pointed out more faults than all those urged by foreigners. In this particular case however Bucer expressed himself strongly; and there were many who sympathised with him: and the entire passage, though mainly eucharistical and commendatory, was expunged. Attempts were made, notably at the time of the revision under Charles II., to reintroduce words similar to those used in the Scotch Liturgy, and to get rid of the prefix "militant here in earth." There is extant a copy of the Prayer-book with marginal corrections, intended apparently for the printer, all in the handwriting of Sancroft, then chaplain to Bishop Cosin. Among these corrections the prefix to the prayer for the Church militant was altered thus[1]: "Let us offer up our prayers "and praises for the good estate of Christ's Catholic "Church." This alteration was rejected by Convocation; and this same Convocation, when it revised and annexed to the Liturgy the 'Form of Prayer for the 30th 'day of January,' which had been put forth by Royal Authority in 1661, erased from that office the following passage, which had formed part of one of the original collects: "We beseech thee to give us all grace to "remember and provide for our latter end, by a careful "studious imitation of this thy blessed Martyr and "Saint, and all other thy Saints and Martyrs that have "gone before us, that we may be made worthy to receive "benefit by their prayers, which they in communion "with thy Church Catholic, offer up to thee for that

[1] Cardwell's *Conferences*, chap. viii. p. 390, note.

"part of it here militant and yet in fight with and dan-
"ger from the flesh." By the erasure of this prayer, by the rejection of the proposal to amend the prefix as suggested by Sancroft, and yet by accepting the addition of the clauses which "bless God's holy name for "the faithful dead, and pray for grace for the survi-
"vors," the Church of England, at the last revision of her Liturgy, seems to have made her last concession, to have pronounced her final 'So far, and no further,' concerning this controverted point[1].

[1] In the face of these deliberate and intentional omissions and alterations, it seems strange to read the following passage (from the *Address to the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol*, p. 11).

"In the office for Holy Communion, in the Prayer for the Church "Militant *here in earth*, the last sentences refer to those who are not in "that condition; the commemoration of departed souls is expressed in the "words, And we also bless thy holy name for all thy servants departed this "life in Thy faith and fear: the *prayer* in relation to them, which follows "their commemoration, is thus expressed: 'beseeching Thee to give us "'grace so to follow their good examples, that *with them* we may be par-
"'takers of Thy heavenly kingdom.'"

Had the petition run as in the bidding prayer of 1547, '*That they with 'us and we with them*,' or as in the disused Collect in the Burial Service, "Grant, we beseech Thee, that at the day of judgment his soul and all the "souls of Thy elect, departed out of this life, may *with us and we with them* "fully receive Thy promises," &c., there would have been ground for the assertion: but considering that the form 'They with us and we with them' is purposely altered into "with them we," and that too by persons who refused to alter the phrase "the Church Militant here in earth" into "Christ's Catholic Church," for fear of countenancing prayers for the dead, we can only say, if any still find "prayer in relation to the dead" left in our Office as it now stands, that such was *not* the intention of the framers of the Prayer.

With more candour Dr Lee, while bewailing that the old services were "mutilated, transposed, and abbreviated" (p. 143), allows that in the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant here in earth, all mention of the saints or of the faithful departed is, in the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI. carefully removed. He says (p. 147), "Not a trace "remains:" which, as regards the second Prayer-book of King Edward, is plain enough. But I cannot find that he ventures to say the traces have been restored. He speaks indeed of "The prayers relating to the departed

In the Service for the 'Burial of the Dead,' the same deliberate omission of prayers for the departed is to be noticed in all the Prayer-books subsequent to that of 1549. Again, compare a few of the Rubrics and Prayers. In the book of 1549, the direction is as follows: "Then the Priest casting earth upon the corpse "shall say, I commend thy soul to God the Father Al- "mighty, and thy body to the ground, earth to earth, "ashes to ashes," &c. In 1552, and in all subsequent revisions this stands, "Then while the earth shall be "cast upon the body by some standing by, the Priest "shall say, Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God "of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our "dear here departed, we therefore commit his body to "the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes," &c.

The long Prayer, which in 1549 commenced "We "commend into thy hands of mercy (most merciful Fa- "ther) the soul of this our brother departed N.," and which contained the clause "that when the judgment "shall come...*both this our brother* and we may be "found acceptable in thy sight,"—was omitted: so was the prayer following it, which had this petition: "Grant,

"both in the Communion Service of our present Book of Common Prayer, "as well as in the service for the Burial of the Dead," and says, without further specification, that they "are less definite than those which were "used of yore," pp. 177, 178. He brings forward, p. 147, the petition in the Communion Service, asking 'that through the merits and death of our 'Lord Jesus Christ, and through faith in His blood, "*we and all Thy whole 'Church*" may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His 'Passion:' but this, he allows, 'lacks that distinctness which was a feature 'of the ancient prayers for the departed.' We go further, and say that the context, asking for *remission of sins through faith*, proves that the Church Militant here in earth is still intended: and that if any doubt could arise, the *animus* of those who framed the service ought to be allowed to settle the question.

"we beseech thee, that at the day of judgment his soul "and all the souls of thy elect, departed out of this "life, may with us, and we with them, fully receive thy "promises," &c. More particularly, whereas in the service of 1549 the last collect contained intercessory prayer for the dead in the plainest form—"Grant unto "this thy servant that the sins which he has committed "in the world be not imputed unto him, but that he, "escaping the gates of hell, and pains of eternal dark- "ness, may ever dwell in the region of light, with "Abraham Isaac and Jacob, &c. &c."—not only was all this entirely omitted, but while in 1552, 1559 and 1604 the prayer stood "we give thee hearty thanks for that "it hath pleased thee to deliver this N. our brother out "of the miseries of this sinful world, beseeching thee "that it may please thee of thy great goodness shortly "to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten "thy kingdom; that we *with this our brother*, and all "other departed in the true faith of thy holy name, "may have our perfect consummation and bliss," &c., this was yet further altered in 1662 by omitting the words '*with this our brother*,' and reading the clause "that we, with all those that are departed in the true "faith," &c.; so intentional and deliberate was the weeding out of every expression containing direct mention of the person departed.

Now it is impossible to attribute this, which is the deliberate opinion of the Church of England, reaffirmed at three revisions in a period running over a hundred years subsequent to 1552, to the malign influence of Bucer and a few foreign divines. The earlier Reform-

ers do not appear to have had any misgivings at relinquishing prayers for the dead. It is true that in their writings on the subject, so far as they are controversial, the argument usually turns upon Purgatory and the abuses springing from that doctrine; and they are busied in showing that the ancient prayers for the departed not only do not involve, but rather oppose, the notion of a Purgatory. But when we come down to the time of Laud, who by his great influence inaugurated a new school of thought in the Church, another tone is discernible in the writings of not a few divines of note; and eminent and honoured men, Cosin, Andrewes, and the like, are desirous of introducing prayers for the dead into the public services of the Church. How the attempt was made and failed in 1662, we have seen: but among the nonjurors praying for the dead was always a cherished tenet, and was clung to as one of the badges of distinction between themselves and those who continued in the communion of the National Church. Thus since the days of Laud there have never been wanting those who publicly advocated or privately approved the practice; but no such feeling is to be discerned in the writings of the earlier Reformers. Bradford, martyred 1555, sets out the "True "doctrine of praying for the dead" as follows: "Therefore we give thanks to God for them, praise His name "for his power and might showed in them, and pray "that we may depart in the same faith, and joyfully "rise with them in the resurrection; which we desire "and wish that the Lord would hasten[1]." In Cover-

[1] Bradford's *Letters and Treatises* (Parker Society), p. 279.

dale's "Exhortation to the carrying of the Cross of "Christ[1]," there is this testimony: "Now as concerning "praying for the dead and sacrificing for them, we con- "fess, teach and believe according to God's word, that "in holy Scripture, throughout the Canonical books of "the Old and New Testament we find neither precept "nor ensample of praying for any when they be de- "parted out of this life; but as men die, so shall they "arise: if in faith in the Lord, towards the South, then "need they no prayers; then are they presently happy, "and shall arise in glory: if in unbelief, without the "Lord, towards the North[2], then are they past all help, "in the damned state presently, and shall rise to eter- "nal shame[3]"..."Whereby we may well see, if we will, "that as prayer for the dead is not available or profit- "able to the dead, so it is of us not allowable, or to be "excused. For as they that are departed are past our "prayers, being either in joy or in misery, as is above "showed; even so we, having for it no word of God, "whereupon faith leaneth, cannot but sin in doing it, "in that we do it not of faith, because we have no word "of God for it."

Again in a subsequent chapter of the same work he says[4]: "Whereas they (the Papists) say that the Fa- "thers from the beginning were accustomed to make "memorials for the dead; this I grant to be true, as we "do in our Communion. But to gather that they there- "fore prayed for them, it no more followeth, than to say

[1] Coverdale's Exhortation &c. chap. viii. in his *Remains* (Parker Society), p. 258. [2] Eccles. xi. [3] John v.

[4] Coverdale's Exhortation to the carrying of Christ's Cross, chap. xii. *Remains*, pp. 269, 270 (Parker Society).

"that our English service doth allow it, where it doth "not. For ye must note that there is a memorial for "the dead, as well as giving thanks to God for them, "as in praying for them; for to say—to pray for the "dead—is a general word including giving thanks."

Here a distinction is clearly drawn between eucharistic mention of the departed and intercessory prayer for them; and while the one is upheld and defended, the other is rejected and condemned. Nowadays it is too much the custom to confound the two things together, and by using the "general word" prayer for the dead, to make a part comprehend the whole; an artifice by which a very real difference is unfairly slurred over, and so lost sight of.

Much to the same purpose, as insisting on the manifest distinction to be drawn between the offering of praise and thanks, and of intercession for the remission of the penalties of sin, is the following passage from Bishop Cooper[1]:

"But perhaps you will object S. Cyprian, where he "speaking of the dead, saith, 'We offer sacrifice for "'them.' But it is evident he offered there for mar-"tyrs: which he was thoroughly persuaded were in "heaven, and needed no offering for their sins. Like-"wise Ambrose mentioneth that he offered for Valen-"tinian the good Emperor; of whom (in the oration "made at his funeral) he witnesseth, that he doubted "not of his salvation, but believed, by the witness of "angels, that he was carried to heaven. Therefore

[1] Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln, then of Winchester, died 1594. Cf. his *Defence of the Truth*, p. 96.

"their offering for the dead was no more but, as I men-
"tioned before, the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving
"to God for them. This thing the Greek Canon de-
"clareth more plainly, where it is mentioned, that they
"offered for the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, yea, and
"for the blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of God: for
"whose sins it cannot be that they offered; which, by
"the testimony and faith of the whole Church, be with
"God in heaven."

Dr Guest, writing to Sir Wm. Cecil, the Queen's secretary, concerning the Service-book newly prepared (at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign), for the Parliament, has this[1] under the head of "Praying for the dead
"in the Communion:" "That praying for the dead is
"not now used in the Communion, because it doth
"seem to make for the sacrifice of the dead. And also
"because, (as it was used in the first book,) it makes
"some of the faithful to be in heaven, and to need no
"mercy; and some of them to be in another place, and
"to lack help and mercy. As though they were not
"all alike redeemed, and brought to heaven by Christ's
"merits: but some deserved it, (as it is said of Mar-
"tyrs:) and some for lack of such perfectness, were in
"purgatory, (as it is spoken of the meaner sort). But
"thus to pray for the dead in the Communion was not
"used in Christ and his Apostles' time, nor in Justin's
"time; who speaking of the manner of using the Com-
"munion in his time, reporteth not this. So that I
"may here well say with Tertullian, 'That is true
"'which is first; that is false which is after: that is

[1] Quoted from Cardwell's *Hist. of Conferences*, p. 52.

"'true which is first; that is first which is from the "'beginning; that is from the beginning, which is from "'the Apostles.'" This passage supports the assertion made above, concerning the *intentional* giving up of prayers for the dead; it proves that the change was not hastily made at the instigation of some influential foreigners, to be regretted afterwards at leisure; but was a change entirely acquiesced in and approved of by very many men of ripe judgment. One more quotation shall be added from Archbishop Grindal, who argues that the prayer mentioned by the early Fathers is to be taken as thanksgiving, pleads that the often-quoted passage from the Book of Maccabees is uncanonical, and doubtful, and adds: "We have no example in the "Canonical Scriptures of any invocation for the dead; "for we read in the Old Testament that the Fathers, as "Jacob and others, were buried with mourning and "with much honour, for a testimony of the resurrec- "tion; but that any prayer was used for them we read "not. Likewise we read in the New Testament of "Stephen and others, but of no prayer for them or any "others after their death read we anywhere in the Old "Testament or the New. Thirdly, where in the Old "Testament be sacrifices and expiations appointed for "many and sundry things, whereof some seem small "offences, yet was there never any sacrifice appointed "for any purgation or expiation of the dead[1]."

And now the argument stands thus: granted that in post-reformation times we can find among the writings of many eminent and excellent divines expressions

[1] *Funeral Sermon for the Emperor Ferdinand*, pp. 23, 24.

favouring the practice of making memorials of the dead, commemorating them, giving praise and thanks for them; granted that in the writings of a few, Bp. Overall, Jeremy Taylor, and others, we find expressions in more general terms upholding prayers for the dead as an ancient and laudable practice; nevertheless the private opinions of these men, bishops and worthies though they be, must not be taken to override the distinctly expressed opinion of the Church in Convocation assembled. Because Archbishop Whitgift and his co-adjutors sanctioned the Lambeth Articles, would it be argued that the Church of England stands committed to the five points? Because certain bishops have left on record their opinion that it is a good and worthy practice to pray for the dead, must we conclude that all are bound by that verdict? Apply the same rule fairly to both cases, and allow that the question must be decided by the formularies sanctioned by the Church, not by the opinions of individuals however eminent. Great names[1] may be quoted on either side; but these, with

[1] Dr Littledale writes (p. 2), "Archbishop Usher, the most learned and "able Low Churchman who ever wore an Anglican mitre, is here at one "with Bishops Lancelot Andrewes, John Overall, &c., and George Bull."

I own I have been puzzled to discover on what grounds Archbishop Usher is claimed by Dr Littledale as an ally. In his *Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge* the argument is mainly directed against praying for souls in Purgatory: incidentally, however, Usher says that the primary intention of the Church in her supplications for the dead was that the whole man, not the soul separated only, might receive public remission of sins and a solemn acquittal in the judgment of the great day (p. 194); says that Onesiphorus was still alive when St Paul made his prayer for him (p. 194); says that it was a private conceit entertained by divers, as well of the elder as of middle times, in their devotions for the dead, that an augmentation of glory might thereby be procured for the saints, and either a total deliverance, or a diminution of torment at leastwise, obtained for wicked, p. 210;

whatever parade they may be marshalled, will not settle the point at issue.

The final appeal lies to the authoritative documents of the Church of England: and we plead that in the Book of Common Prayer a distinct, definite, and decided change was made, upon objections plainly stated,

and seems to acknowledge that the Reformed Churches had quite laid aside the practice of offering even the primitive prayers, and yet denies that they had thereby cut themselves off from Catholic union; for he writes (chap. i. p. 21): "To put the case the Church of Rome now did use "prayer for the dead in the same manner that the Ancient Church did "(which we will shew to be otherwise;) the Reformed Churches, that upon "better advice *have altered that usage*, need not therefore grant, that either "themselves hold a different religion from the Fathers, because they do not "precisely follow them in this; nor yet that the Fathers were therefore "Papists, because in this point they thus concurred."

Nor do I find how Bp. Bull can be called in as an ally. That opinion, stated in such an unqualified manner by Dr Littledale, that the best and holiest men must be cleansed *somewhere* from the stains of earthly sin and error, Bp. Bull writes his third Sermon on the Middle State (*English Theological Works*, p. 37) expressly to overthrow. He is verily persuaded that the doctrine of Purgatory is not only an error, but a dangerous one too, and he rejects prayers for the dead no otherwise than as founded on the hypothesis of Purgatory. (*Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, p. 92.) But then he maintains in two passages almost identical (compare Sermon III. *on the Middle State*, p. 52, with *Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, p. 92), that "The prayers for the dead, used in the ancient Church "(those I mean," he says, "that were more properly prayers, that is, either "deprecations or petitions) were of two sorts: either the common com- "memoration of all the faithful deceased at the oblation of the Holy "Eucharist, or the particular prayers used at the funerals of any of "the faithful lately deceased. The former respected the *consummation* "*of bliss at the resurrection*, like as that which our Church useth "both in the Office for the Communion and in that for the Burial of "the Dead; which indeed seems to be no more than what we daily pray "for in that petition of the Lord's Prayer (if we rightly understand it), "Thy kingdom come. The latter were also charitable omens and good "wishes of the faithful living, as it were accompanying the soul of the "deceased to the joys of Paradise, of which they believed it already "possessed." Will Dr Littledale accept that as a correct description of the nature of primitive prayers for the dead, and of the state of the faithful dead?

at the revision of 1552; and that this intentional departure from former practice was maintained, though not without opposition, at all subsequent revisions. We also insist that in one of the Homilies of 1562, (the third part of the Homily "On Prayer,") the concluding portion is directed against any prayers for the dead at all. The passage makes not only against Purgatory, but against any hope of increasing the felicity of the faithful departed. It commences, *Now to entreat of that question whether we ought to pray for them that are departed out of this world, or no? Wherein, if we will cleave only unto the word of God, then must we needs grant, that we have no commandment so to do.* It then goes on to shew that there is no Purgatory, no third place after this life: quotes the passage concerning *the uttermost farthing* to shew the false grounds on which the error of purgatory rests; says that the only purgatory to which we must look to be cleansed from all our sins is the Blood of Christ; who is our Advocate with the Father: and then continues, *But we must take heed that we call upon this Advocate while we have space given us in this life, lest, when we are once dead, there be no hope of salvation left unto us. For as every man sleepeth with his own cause, so every man shall rise again with his own cause. And look in what state he dieth, in the same state he shall also be judged, whether it be to salvation or damnation. Let us not therefore dream either of purgatory, or of prayer for the souls of them that be dead: but let us earnestly and diligently pray for them which are expressly commanded in Holy Scripture, namely for kings and rulers, for ministers of*

God's Holy Word and Sacraments, for the saints of this world, otherwise called the faithful, to be short, for all men living, be they never so great enemies to God and His people, as Jews, Turks, pagans, infidels, heretics, &c. (pp. 298, 300, Oxford Ed. 1844.)

All these considerations taken together abundantly justify the conclusion that "our Church does *not* sanc-"tion prayers for the dead." Still, it is urged, the discontinuance of a practice does not amount to actual disavowal of the doctrine. It is true, we reply, that the Church of England has only ejected such prayers from her public services, and refused their readmission; and has not stigmatised them as in their own nature absolutely sinful or improper: this latter course she refrained from taking, remembering the early commemorations and thanksgivings commonly used for God's saints; the former course she felt obliged to take, because of the later ineradicable corruptions that had clustered fungus-like around them: she will not sanction them, though in her moderation she does not expressly and in set terms prohibit them.

But they are *legal*, we are told: a recent decision in the Court of Arches has *legalised* them, and the case of Breeks *versus* Woolfrey[1] is again and again appealed to, as if it proved beyond question that these prayers have the sanction of the Church of England, and as if

[1] The case was tried before Sir Herbert Jenner Fust in 1838. A widow, who was a Roman Catholic, had erected in Carisbrooke churchyard to the memory of her husband a tombstone on which this inscription was placed: 'Pray for the soul of I. Woolfrey,' and 'It is a holy and wholesome thought 'to pray for the dead. (2 Mac. xii. 46.)' Power was sought to remove this tombstone on the ground that the inscription was contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England.

it invested them with such authority that to gainsay them would be to go against the definite decision of the Court. Yet such is not the purport of the judgment. The judge refused to make an order for the removal of the tombstone in dispute, on the ground that prayers for the dead are not forbidden by the Articles, Canons, and Constitutions of the Church of England. But he did not thereby rule that such prayers are to be regarded as the authorized teaching of the Prayer-Book. This only is the law laid down: 'to uphold a doctrine 'not actually prohibited is not illegal.' The effect of this is not to establish the doctrine, nor to render it illegal to dispute it. To make this clear, let careful consideration be given to the following extract from the judgment of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council in the late case of Sheppard *v.* Bennett:—

"The attention of the Court has been directed to "the successive revisions of the Book of Common "Prayer, and to alterations or omissions which have "been made in it at different times. Changes by which "words or passages inculcating particular doctrines, or "assuming a belief in them, have been struck out are "most material as evidence that the Church has delibe-"rately ceased to affirm those doctrines in her public "services. At the same time it is material to observe "that the necessary effect of such changes, when they "stand alone, is that it ceases to be unlawful to contra-"dict such doctrines, not that it becomes unlawful to "maintain them. In the public or common prayers "and devotional offices of the Church all her members "are expected and entitled to join; it is necessary

"therefore that such forms of worship as are prescribed "by authority for general use should embody those "beliefs only which are assumed to be generally held "by members of the Church."

All this is precisely applicable to the case in hand. By shewing that every passage inculcating prayers for the dead has been struck out from the public services of the Church, we have produced the most material evidence to prove that the Church has deliberately ceased to affirm that particular doctrine: in other words, she has withdrawn her sanction from it; consequently to contradict it is in no way unlawful. At the same time, if any persons please to maintain the propriety of such prayers, the Court would not condemn them: they do nothing that is in the eye of the law illegal, inasmuch as the withdrawal of the sanction was not accompanied by any express prohibition. Therefore this celebrated judgment in the Court of Arches does not make the doctrine concerning prayers for the dead *legal* in the sense of establishing it as *authoritative* in the Church of England, but only declares that an inscription embodying the doctrine is not in itself a violation of the Church's Articles, Canons, and Constitutions.

A converse case may help to illustrate the point[1]. The 41st Article of those published in 1552 rejected the fable of a millennium as repugnant to Scripture and as a

[1] It has been suggested that a parallel case to the withdrawal of all public prayers for the dead, without thereby abandoning the doctrine itself, would arise if the Athanasian Creed should now be withdrawn in deference to the storm of opposition raised against it, without however any intention of giving up the doctrine of the Trinity. In the after time it might be said

Jewish dotage; wherefore no writer of the Church of England at that period could legally have maintained that doctrine. In 1562 however the 41st Article was wholly expunged; yet the theory of a millennium did not thereby become the doctrine of the Church, only it ceased to be unlawful to uphold it; and many authors since then have maintained the doctrine as their private and individual opinion, yet without attempting to assert that it had the public sanction and authority of any Article or Canon of the Church.

And now, inasmuch as throughout this investigation into the public services of our Church, and the contemporary writings which illustrate them, our endeavour has been to discover what in reality is the intention of the Prayer-Book, rather than to argue about what it *ought* to have been, we are bound to the conclusion that the position maintained by the Church of England is in fact this:—she has intentionally abandoned the practice of praying for the dead; after the objections that were made, all such prayers were omitted from her services; and, notwithstanding subsequent remonstrances, they have never since been reinstated. On the other hand, she has given her sanction to a book of Homilies, one of which plainly

that because the Church of England had discontinued the public recitation of that Creed, therefore she had withdrawn her sanction from all the statements contained in it; and this, it is suggested, would be an inference no more fallacious than to suppose that her discontinuance of prayers for the dead argues her disapproval of them. But the parallel breaks down in this, that even if the clear exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity contained in the creed of S. Athanasius were withdrawn, there would remain the bulwarks of the other creeds, and the express statement of the Articles, to guard the doctrine of the Trinity; whereas in the matter of prayers for the dead the abandonment has been complete; not a trace remains.

controverts prayers for the dead; and at the latest revision of her Prayer-Book, while she eliminated a collect beseeching for benefit from the prayers of saints and martyrs, which had been inserted into an occasional service without the authority of Convocation, she at the same time renewed her approval of the Homilies. Her attitude therefore is unmistakably plain.

With consistent moderation she directs no anathema against those who on this point differ from her; nevertheless she may well protest against any attempt to convert her absence of censure into actual approval. She *does* level one of her articles against purgatory, and bitter cause she had for raising her voice against that "fond thing—vainly invented, and repugnant to "the word of God." But prayers for the dead she did not in the same strong manner reprobate: she was content to strike them from her service-books; and this she was constrained to do because she felt that they had been so inveterately perverted that there would ever be danger of reviving, even with the guarded use, the intolerable abuse.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

In the following Appendix are printed the chapters from Justin Martyr's first Apology which contain the description of the mode of celebrating the Eucharist in his day; and the Liturgy given by Ludolph in his *Historia Æthiopica*. Concerning this latter it occurs in the *Statuta Vulgo Apostolorum dicta*, the Ethiopic[1] copy of which Ludolph says is negligently written; but he asserts that his Latin version is a verbatim translation. He ends by saying *Damus ea sicut accepimus. Judicabunt de iis periti num forte veterum* Διαταγαὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων *Constitutiones Apostolorum ex iis lucem acquirere possint.* For upholding the extreme antiquity of this Liturgy we advance the following reasons:—

1. The primitive simplicity of the style, the free prayer, and the part taken by the people.

2. The general resemblance to the description given by Justin Martyr.

3. The absence of those details which require the architectural arrangements of a building constructed on purpose to carry them out. The Alexandrine Liturgy, which goes by the name of S. Mark, needs to be accompanied (at least in the interpolated form in which the Greek Text appears) by a plan of the Church, in order that the *Sanctuary*, the *Prothesis*, the *Little Entrance*, and the *Great Entrance* may be rendered intelligible.

4. The absence of the later names for the Holy Rite. It is still "the Eucharist," "the Holy Sacrament of the Body and the Blood," "the Holy Mystery." By the time of S. Chrysostom it was "the tremendous Sacrifice."

Later in his work Ludolf enumerates the titles of ten other Liturgies in the Ethiopic language, attributed severally to S John, S. James, the Twelve Apostles, &c. He gives one of them at length: *Oratio Eucharistica Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.* It contains a prayer for all saints and martyrs who have gone to rest in the faith of Christ; it enumerates among others the Four Evangelists, the Virgin Mary—*Dei Genetrix*, the Twelve Apostles, the seventy-two Disciples and their five hundred companions; and, last of all, the three hundred and eighteen orthodox fathers. The late date is at once betrayed. The 318 orthodox Fathers were those who composed the Council of Nicæa: while the title *Dei Genetrix* savours of a time subsequent to the dispute about the use of the word *Theotokos*.

[1] The Coptic Apostolical Constitutions published by Archdeacon Tattam, although for the most part the same as the Ethiopic Constitutions, do not contain this Liturgy.

JUSTIN MARTYR'S FIRST APOLOGY.

Chaps. 65—67.

65. Now after we have thus washed him who has signified his belief and assent, we bring him to the place where those called brethren are assembled together, in order that we may earnestly offer common prayer on behalf of ourselves and of him who has been illuminated [*by baptism*], and of all others in every place, that we who have learnt the truth may be deemed worthy of this also, that we by good works be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments, in order that we may attain to eternal salvation. When we have finished prayers, we salute each other with a kiss. Then there is brought bread and a cup of water and mixed wine to him who presides over the brethren, and he upon receiving them utters in a loud voice praise and glory to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and at considerable length offers thanks to Him for deeming us worthy of these things at His hands. And when he has finished the prayers and the thanksgiving, all the people present with assenting acclamation say Amen. But this Amen signifies in the Hebrew tongue 'so be it.' When the president has finished the service of thanksgiving, and all the people have uttered their assent, they who among us are called deacons distribute to each of those present this bread and wine and water over which thanksgiving has been pronounced, and they carry some away to those who are not present.

66. And this food is called among us the Eucharist, and no one is allowed to partake of it unless he believes that those things are true which are taught by us, and has been washed with the laver [*of baptism*] for the remission of sins and unto regeneration, and is living conformably to what Christ enjoined. For we take these not as common bread and common drink, but in the same manner as by the word of God Jesus Christ our Saviour became incarnate and had both flesh and blood for our salvation, in like manner we have been taught that the food over which thanksgiving has been pronounced by the prayer[1] of the word which comes

[1] Τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν. The words δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ are generally explained to refer either to the blessing which Christ Himself pronounced at the Institution of the Eucharist, or to the prayer pronounced by the Celebrant in imitation of Christ's thanksgiving.—Rather they should be taken to mean the Lord's prayer, which was the actual prayer of consecration: and so Otto, in his note on the passage,...*ita quidem, ut precibus a Christo mandatis* (*orationem autem Dominicam significare videtur*) *Justinus divinam vim tribuit, qualis in Dei* λόγῳ *insit.* That this use of the Lord's Prayer was the original and Apostolical custom Gregory the Great asserts in his letter to John, Bishop of Syracuse (Ep. IX. 12, quoted by Bunsen in his *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*, p. 490), *Orationem vero Dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus: quia mos Apostolorum fuit ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem hostiam consecrarent.*

from Him, (food) by which our blood and flesh is nourished in accordance with the change [*into our substance*], is both the flesh and the blood of that incarnate Jesus. For the Apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have delivered to us that thus Jesus enjoined them: namely that having taken bread and having given thanks He said *Do this in remembrance of Me, this is my Body:* likewise having taken the cup and having given thanks He said *This is my Blood,* and that He distributed it among them alone. The which thing evil spirits have imitated and have enjoined to be done in the mysteries of Mithras: for that there is set bread and a cup of water in the mystic rites of the person initiated, with certain sentences subjoined, is a fact that you either are acquainted with, or may easily learn.

67. But after this we continually put one another in mutual remembrance of these things; and they among us who have means succour all those who lack, and we always associate together. And for all (the food) which we enjoy we bless the Creator of all through His Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Ghost. And on the day which is called the day of the sun, there is a common assembly of all who dwell in town or country, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read as long as there is time. Then the reader having ceased the President orally admonishes and exhorts to the imitation of these excellent things. After that we all rise up in common and offer prayers. And, as we said just now, when we have ceased from prayer bread is brought, and wine and water, and the President just as before utters in a loud voice prayers and thanksgiving as best he can, and the people signify assent by saying Amen. And the distribution and participation by all of the elements over which thanksgiving has been pronounced takes place, and they are sent to those not present by the hands of the deacons. They who are well to do and are willing, give respectively according to their own choice what they wish; and the collection is deposited with the President, and he succours the orphans and widows, and those who through sickness or any other cause are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word he becomes the guardian of all who are in need. But we all make our common assembly on the day of the sun because it is the first day on which God, when He wrought a change in darkness and matter, created the world, and on the self-same day Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead. For on the day before the day of Saturn they crucified Him, and on the day after the day of Saturn, which is the day of the sun, having appeared to His Apostles and Disciples He taught those things which we have delivered to you also for your consideration.

THE ETHIOPIC LITURGY.

From the Text given in Ludolf's *Historia Æthiopica*,
(Frankfort on the Maine, 1681.)

Canon XXI.

Concerning the Ordination of Bishops and the Rite of the Eucharist.

Let him be appointed, as we have already said, a bishop, who may be elected by all the people together with the presbyters and deacons upon a sabbath day. And let all the bishops assemble together in the congregation, and lay their hands upon him. And let the presbyters standing quietly by, and all keeping silence, make prayer at the same time in their hearts that the Holy Spirit may descend upon him, and let each one of the bishops pray, and let each one stand and lay his hands upon him who is appointed bishop, praying over him after this fashion:

Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, Father of mercies and Lord of all good gifts, Who hast Thy dwelling amongst those on high and those on earth below, Who knowest all things 'ere ever they come to pass, Thou hast given by the word of Thy grace ordination to Thy Church, which Thou hast ordained before the generations of the just, and hast appointed for it, even from the time of Abraham, Judges and Priests, and hast never left Thy sanctuary without ministers. Before the creation of the world according to Thy will in the place that Thou hadst chosen were Thy praises sung. But now pour down from above the virtue of the primal Spirit which Thou gavest to thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, which Thou didst bountifully impart to thy Holy Apostles, that they by the plough of the cross might till (the field of) the Church in all places, by the preaching of Thy holiness, never ceasing in Thy name. O Father, unto whom all hearts be open, grant that this Thy servant, whom Thou hast chosen to the office of Bishop, may feed Thy flock and may fulfil the priestly functions before Thee without blame, that in his ministrations night and day he may humbly pray and may see Thy face, that he may offer the oblation of Thy Holy Church worthily, and in the Holy Spirit of the priesthood, having the power of remitting sins according to Thy commission, and of conferring orders according to Thy institution, and of loosing every bond of iniquity according to the power which Thou gavest to Thy Apostles: that he may be accepted before Thee in sincerity and a pure heart, offering to Thee a sweetsmelling savour. Through Thy Son Jesus Christ, through Whom Praise be to Thee and Power. Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost in the holy Church now and always and in ages of ages. Amen.

Statutum XXI.

De Ordinatione Episcoporum et Ritu Eucharistiæ.

Constituatur Episcopus sicuti antea diximus; qui eligatur ab omni populo conjunctim cum presbyteris et diaconis in die Sabbati. Et omnes Episcopi conveniant inter se in congregatione, et imponant manus suas super eum, Et Presbyteri stantes tranquillè, omnesque silentes pariter orent in cordibus suis, ut descendat Spiritus Sanctus super illum, et oret unusquisque ex Episcopis, et unusquisque stans imponat manum super illum, qui constituitur Episcopus; orantes super eum hoc modo:

Omnipotens Deus! Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi Salvatoris nostri, Pater misericordiarum, et Dominus omnis beneficii; qui habitat inter supremos et infimos, quit scit omnia antequam fiant. Tu dedisti ordinationem Ecclesiæ per vocem gratiæ tuæ, quam prius ordinavisti ante generationes justorum, sc. à (tempore) Abrahami Judices et Sacerdotes constituisti illi: et sanctuarium tuum nunquam reliquisti sine ministris. Ante creationem mundi (prout) voluisti (in loco) quam elegeras, celebratus fuisti. Nunc autem effunde desuper virtutem Spiritus principalis, quem dedisti dilecto filio tuo Jesu Christo: quem largitus es sanctis Apostolis tuis, ut Ecclesiam (colerent) aratro crucis tuæ in omnibus locis, sanctitatis tuæ prædicatione, sine cessatione in nomine tuo. Da ô gnare cordium, Pater! ut servus tuus, quem elegisti ad Episcopatum, pascat gregem tuum, et sacerdotio fungatur coram te absque reprehensione, ut ministrans noctu diuque suppliciter oret, videatque faciem tuam, ut digne offerat oblationem tuam sanctæ Ecclesiæ tuæ, et in Spiritu sacerdotii Sancto, habens facultatem remittendi peccata secundum mandatum tuum: et dandi ordines [secundum] institutionem tuam: atque solvendi omne vinculum iniquitatis secundum potestatem, quam dedisti Apostolis tuis: ut acceptus tibi sit in sinceritate et puro corde, offerendo tibi odorem suavem. Per Filium tuum Jesum Christum, in quo tibi (sit) laus et potentia. Gloria Patri, et Filio et Spiritui Sancto in Sancta Ecclesia nunc et semper, et in secula seculorum. Amen.

After that the Bishop has been appointed, let each and everyone salute him who has been made Bishop, giving him the kiss of peace. And on whom that office has devolved, to him let the Deacon present the Eucharist. He thereupon laying his hand upon the Eucharistical bread with all the presbyters gives thanks to God, saying as follows:

The Lord be with you all.
The people answer:
And wholly with thy spirit.
The Bishop says:
Lift up your hearts.
All the people answer:
They are lifted up to the Lord our God.
The Bishop says:
Let us give thanks to the Lord.
The people:
He is Holy, and He is just.

Then they say the Eucharistic prayer, repeating it after the Bishop.

We give thanks to thee, O Lord, through thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, Whom Thou in these last days hast sent to us as a Saviour and Redeemer, to announce Thy will. He is the Word that is from Thee, through Whom Thou madest all things according to Thy will. And Thou didst send Him down from heaven into the Virgin's womb. He was made flesh, and was borne in her womb: and was manifested to be Thy Son by the Holy Spirit, that He might fulfil Thy will, and might purchase for Thee a people, by spreading forth His hands. He suffered that He might release those suffering affliction, who put their trust in Thee. Who of His own free will was given up to suffer death, that He might destroy death, might break the bonds of Satan, might tread hell under foot, might lead forth the saints, might establish things decreed, and open up the resurrection. Therefore taking bread He gave thanks and said: *Take, eat, This is my body which is broken for you.* And likewise the cup also and said: *This is my blood which is shed for you; when ye do this ye shall do it in remembrance of Me.*

Remembering therefore His death and His resurrection, we offer to Thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee, for that Thou hast thought us worthy to stand before Thee, and to perform to Thee this priestly office. And humbly we beseech Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit upon the oblations of this congregation. And at the same time grant to all who now partake of them such a measure of sanctification that they may be filled with the Holy Spirit, to the strengthening of their faith in all sincerity, that they may glorify and praise Thee in Thy Son Jesus Christ,

Posteaquam constitutus est Episcopus, gratulantur ei omnes et singuli, ore osculantes eum, qui factus est Episcopus: Et cui contigerit istud munus, Diaconus præbeat illi Eucharistiam. Adhæc ponens manum suam super panem eucharisticum cum omnibus presbyteris gratias agit Domino, dicens hoc modo.

Dominus vobiscum omnibus.
Respondet populus:
Totus cum Spiritu tuo sit.
Dicit Episcopus:
Elevate (sursum) corda.
Respondet omnis populus:
Sunt apud Dominum Deum nostrum.
Dicit episcopus:
Gratias agamus Domino.
Populus:
Rectus et justus est.

Deinde dicunt orationem eucharisticam, Episcopum præeuntem sequendo.

Gratias agimus tibi Domine per dilectum Filium tuum Jesum Christum, quem in ultimis diebus misisti nobis Salvatorem et redemtorem, nuncium consilii tui. Iste [est] verbum quod ex te est, per quod omnia fecisti voluntate tuâ. Et misisti eum de cælo in uterum virginis. Caro factus est, et gestatus fuit in ventre ejus: Et filius tuus manifestatus fuit à Spiritu Sancto, ut impleret voluntatem tuam: et populum tibi efficeret, expandendo manus suas: passus est, ut patientes [afflictos] liberaret, qui confidunt in te. Qui traditus est voluntate sua ad passionem: ut mortem dissolveret; vincula Satanæ rumperet: et conculcaret infernum, et sanctos educeret, et statuta conderet, et resurrectionem patefaceret. Accipiens ergo panem gratias egit, et dixit: *Accipite, comedite, Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur.* Et similiter calicem quoque et dixit: *Hic est sanguis meus, qui pro vobis effunditur, cum facitis hoc, in commemorationem mei id facietis.*

Recordantes igitur mortis ejus et resurrectionis ejus offerimus tibi hunc panem et calicem, gratias agentes tibi, quòd nos reddidisti dignos, ut stemus coram te, et sacerdotio tibi fungamur. Suppliciter oramus te, ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum super oblationes hujus Ecclesiæ. Pariterque largiaris omnibus, qui sumunt de iis [ut prosit iis ad] sanctitatem: ut repleantur Spiritu Sancto, et ad confirmationem fidei in veritate, ut te celebrant et laudent in filio tuo Jesu Christo, in quo tibi [sit] laus et

through whom be Praise and Power ascribed to Thee in Thy Holy Church now and always and in ages of ages. Amen.

CONCERNING THE OBLATION OF OIL.

He who at the time of the Eucharist offers oil, as likewise bread and wine, gives thanks in the same manner. But even if he have not used the self-same words, yet let him according to his ability give thanks although in other words, saying:

In sanctifying this oil give grace to those who are anointed, and receive [the bread and wine]. As Thou didst anoint the Priests and Prophets, in like manner confirm both these and everyone who tastes it; and sanctify those who receive it.

The people say:

As it was, and is, and shall be in generations of generations and in ages of ages. Amen.

The Bishop says:

Let us again entreat the Lord omnipotent Who is Ruler of all, the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that He would vouchsafe us to receive with His blessing this holy Sacrament, and that He would hold none of us guilty, but rather render us all worthy to take and receive the holy Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ our Lord God, Ruler of all things.

The Deacon says, Pray ye.

O Lord omnipotent! while we receive this sacred mystery, give us strength, and hold not any of us guilty, but bless us all in Christ, through Whom to Thee with Him and with the Holy Spirit be Praise and Power now and ever and in ages of ages. Amen.

The Deacon says,

Ye who are standing, bow down your heads.

Eternal Lord, from whom no secrets are hid, Thy people have bowed down to Thee their heads, and have subordinated to Thee all hardness of the heart and flesh. Look on them from Thy dwelling-place prepared on high, and bless these men and these women. Incline to them Thine ears, and hear their prayers. Strengthen them by the virtue of Thy right hand, and protect them against all evil affections. Be Thou their guardian, as well in body as in soul. Increase both to them and to us Faith and Fear. Through Thine only Son, in Whom to Thee with Him and with the Holy Spirit be Praise and Power uninterruptedly and in ages of ages. Amen.

The Deacon says:

Let us look up, &c.

The Bishop:

The holy place for holy people.

potentia in sancta Ecclesia, et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.

De Oblatione Olei.

Qui oleum offert tempore Eucharistiæ, ut et panem et vinum, gratias agit eodem modo. Quamvis autem iisdem verbis non fuerit usus, pro facultate suâ propriâ etiam aliis verbis gratias agat, dicens:

Sanctificans oleum hoc, [gratiam] tribue illis qui unguuntur, et accipiunt [panem et vinum.] Sicuti unxisti Sacerdotes et Prophetas, similiter et illos et unumquemque qui gustat [illud] corrobora; et sanctifica illos qui accipiunt illud.

Populus dicit:

Sicut erat, est, et erit in generationes generationum, et in secula seculorum. Amen.

Episcopus [*ait*].

Iterum supplicamus, qui omnia continet, Domino omnipotenti, Patri Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, ut concedat nobis in benedictione accipere hoc sanctum sacramentum, utque neminem ex nobis reum faciat; [sed potius] omnes dignos reddat, qui sumunt et accipiunt sanctum sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi παντοκράτορος Domini Dei nostri.

Diaconus dicit, Orate.

Domine omnipotens! dum accipimus hoc sanctum mysterium, robur nobis tribue, neque quemquam ex nobis reum age, sed omnibus benedic in Christo; in quo tibi cum illo et cum Spiritu Sancto [sit] laus et potentia [nunc] et semper, et in secula seculorum. Amen.

Diaconus dicit:

Vos qui statis, demittite capita vestra.

Domine Æterne, gnarus occultorum! declinaverunt tibi capita sua populus tuus, et tibi subjecerunt duritiam cordis et carnis. Respice de parata habitatione tua, et benedic illos et illas. Inclina illis aures tuas et exaudi preces eorum. Corrobora [eos] virtute dextræ tuæ, et protege [eos] a passione mala. Custos eorum esto, tam corporis quam animæ. Auge et illis et nobis fidem et timorem. Per unicum filium tuum, in quo tibi cum illo et cum Spiritu Sancto [sit] laus et potentia in perpetuum, et in secula seculorum. Amen.

Diaconus ait:

Respiciamus, &c.

Et Episcopus:

Sanctuarium sanctis.

The people answer:

There is one Holy, the Father; one Holy, the Son; one Holy, the Holy Ghost.

The Bishop says:

The Lord be with you all.

The people answer:

And with thy spirit.

Then they raise the hymn of praise; and the people enter, and receive the remedy of their soul, by which is remission of sin. [*i.e. they partake of the Communion.*]

The Prayer after he has given [*the Eucharist*].

O Lord Who rulest over all, Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we give thanks to Thee, for that Thou hast vouchsafed to us to partake of Thy Holy Mystery; let it not be to us for judgment nor for condemnation, but for renewal of the soul, the body, and the spirit. Through Thine only Son, in Whom to Thee and with the Holy Ghost be Praise and Power uninterruptedly both now and always and in ages of ages. Amen.

The people say, Amen.

The Presbyter says:

The Lord be with you all.

The Imposition of hands after they have received [*the Sacrament*].

Eternal Lord, Who rulest all things, Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, bless Thy servants and Thy handmaids. Protect and aid and preserve them by the power of Thy Angels. Keep and strengthen them in Thy fear through Thy Majesty: equip them so that their thoughts may be in accordance with Thy will; and vouchsafe to them that what is of Thee they may believe, and what is of Thee they may desire. Grant them the favour of concord without sin and wrath. Through Thine only Son, in Whom to Thee with Him and with the Holy Ghost be Praise both now, &c.

The people answer; Amen.

The Bishop says:

The Lord be with you all.

The people: And with Thy Spirit.

The Deacon says: Depart in peace.

And after this the Eucharist is finished.

Populus respondet:

Unus Pater Sanctus; unus Filius Sanctus; unus est Spiritus Sanctus.

Episcopus dicit:

Dominus vobiscum omnibus.

Populus respondet:

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Deinde attollunt hymnum laudis, et intrat Populus, remedium animæ suæ, quo peccatum remittitur, accipiens. [*i. e.* Communione utitur.]

Oratio postquam tradidit [Eucharistiam].

Domine παντοκράτωρ! Pater Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi; gratias agimus tibi, quod concessisti nobis [ut] acciperemus de sancto tuo mysterio; ne sit nobis in reatum neque in damnatione, sed ad renovationem animæ, corporis, et animi. Per unicum Filium tuum, in quo tibi cum illo, et cum Spiritu Sancto sit laus et potentia in perpetuum et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. *Amen.*

Populus dicit, Amen.

Presbyter dicit:

Dominus sit cum vobis omnibus.

Impositio manuum postquam acceperunt [*Sacramentum*].

Domine Æterne, qui omnia regis, Pater Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, Benedic servis tuis et ancillis tuis. Protege et adjuva et sospita [eos] virtute angelorum tuorum. Custodi et corrobora [eos] in timore tuo per Majestatem tuam: exorna [eos] ut quæ tua sunt, cogitent; et largire [eis], ut quæ tua sunt, credant, et ut quæ tua sunt velint. Concordiam sine peccato et ira gratificare illis. Per unicum Filium tuum, in quo tibi cum illo et cum Spiritu Sancto sit laus, et nunc, &c.

Populus respondet: Amen.

Episcopus dicit:

Dominus vobiscum omnibus.

Populus: Et cum Spiritu tuo.

Diaconus dicit: Abite in pace.

Et post hæc absoluta est Eucharistia.

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